MOTION FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, BANGALORE

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHTAGI) : Sir, I beg to move :

"That in pursuance of the provisions contained in sub-clause (a) of clause 9.1 of the Scheme for the Administration and Management of the Properties and Funds of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, read with Regulation 3.1 of the Regulations of the Institute, this House do proceed to elect in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one member from among the members of the House to be a member of the Council of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MOTION FOR ELECTION TO THE ALL INDIA COUNCIL FOR TECHNICAL EDUCATION

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHTAGI) : Sir, I beg to move :

"That in pursuance of the provisions contained in sub-clause (h) of clause (i) of paragraph 3 of the Government of India, Ministry of Education Resolution No. F.16-10/44-E.III, dated the 30th November, 1945, as amended from time to time, this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one member from among the members of the House to be a member of the All India Council for Technical Education."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1986-87—GENERAL DISCUSSION

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am not allowing any Special Mention today in view of the fact that we want to devote greater attention to the Budget discussion. I now call Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI (Maharashtra) : Sir, on a point of order. You are setting too many new precedents. First, no zero hour. Then no Special Mention. This has never happened.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This was an agreement arrived at by the Business Advisory Committee. Yes, Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, may I begin by expressing my double gratitute to the Chair, firstly, because he has very kindly consented to get the discussion started in the early hours of the day and, secondly, because I am being honoured today that when I speak the Chairman is in the Chair, which is a rare opportunity for us ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let him have the benefit for a few minutes.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : Sir, even those few minutes I will consider precious for the House.

Sir, perhaps I should also begin with thanks to the Finance Minister. The Finance Minister has provided us with some neatly produced documents. The arrangements are very neat: it helps us to give our comments in a neat manner. For neatness, Mr. Salve might agree, he should be given full credit. Sir, perhaps this is due to his physics background, perhaps this neatness arises from the scientific temperament that he has inculcated.

But, Sir, the question is, does scientific temper stop at neat description on the surface only or, does scientific temper beckon us to go deeper and beyond to see the underlying reason for particular developments and try to answer on the basis of that analysis. We all know that it will be neat description if we say that it is the sun which rises in the east and sets in the west. One can very neatly describe it. Is it not time to say as long time back Galileo had to, that it is the earth that moves round the sun and not the other way? A deeper analysis in this manner requires a revolutionary breakthrough in the approach to the problems of the country. May I call upon the scientific-minded Finance Minister that in giving his reply he will try to break away from whatever constraints the socio-economic system imposes on him ?

Sir, my comments in the course of my speech would be in terms of this deeper analysis, and I begin with a quote from part A. Very correctly, Sir, the Finance Minister started by saying—he also quoted—that "Development must be accompanied by equity and social justice—by removal of social barriers that oppress the weak. " What exactly do you mean by development ? We all know that our country is a country of deep traditions. We know that in our heritage lies the fact that through the ancient times and up to the Moghul period, despite all subsequent conflicts, India was on the forefront of the world in terms of material wealth, in terms of its industry, in terms of even ironmongery and development of iron industry. We know, Sir, after that a dark age descended on us. For 200 years the Britishers diverted us from that path and so forced us to occupy a back seat in the comity of nations.

[**Mr. Deputy Chairman** in the Chair.]

Sir, only because of that in the course of our independence struggle both violent and non-violent, did we aspire to remove that barrier and did we aspire once again to be at the forefront and to make up for the lost time of two centuries of the British rule in the country.

Sir, it is with regret that we say that although during that period and on the eve of the independence our planners were thinking, dreaming in those terms, any patriot in India could not but think in terms which would be considered ambitious by any standards, whether they were the industrialists like the Tatas and the Birlas, while formulating their Bombay Plan, or the Congress Planning Committee headed by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, all of them were keen to move fast in their tyrst with destiny, in the course of the last 30 years it is our tragedy, despite our successes which are frequently trotted out of us—and I do not hesitate to acknowledge that— despite the mentioning of the fact that the output of food has more than doubled or increased to some such figures, we stand at a low level in the comity of nations. Let us try to discover where we stand in the comity of nations. Of the developments in the course of the last 30 years, a friend of us has done the sums. These are called indicators of dynamics of economic development.

While the per-capita gross domestic product in India grew at the rate of 1.2 per cent between 1950

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and 1980, the per-capita growth, the annual percentage of growth in the developing countries was 3.8 per cent and that in the world as a whole was 3.1 per cent.

The industrial activity of which we periodically boast in the name of, say, the steel plants of the country, in India it grew at the rate of 4.1 per cent, in the developing countries the growth rate was 6.3 per cent, and in the world as a whole the growth rate was 4.3 per cent.

In terms of exports which are now one of the dearest, which occupy one of the dearest corriders of our heart, in India the growth was 1.4 per cent, in the developing countries it was 4.4. per cent, and in the world as a whole it was 5.1 per cent. This is the pace that we actually had in trying to cover up the lost time of 200 years.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra) : Whare are you quoting from ?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : All these are available, for Shri Salve's information, in the United Nations Statistical Year Book. But I appreciate his difficulty. Since Mr. Reagan is no longer enamoured of the United Nations, he may refuse to look into the Statistical Year Book published by the United Nations.

Hence let me make a reference to the World Bank Development Report and the International Monetary Fund Report published annually.

What is the upshot of it after all ? If these figures do not impress, the upshot is— and let me quote India's share in the world GDP-that India's share in the World GDP has fallen from 2 per cent in 1950 to only 1.4 per cent in 1980. The decline would be greater when compared with the third world GDP, falling from 10 per cent in 1950 to only 5.4 per cent in recent years. Instead of giant strides we are having, in the course of the last 30 years, pigmy-like movements and then we claim the credit about making advances.

The decline in India's share in the third world industrial output, which was still greater, from over 12 per cent in 1950 to no more than a bare 3 per cent by 1980. India got its tenth place in the league of industrial nations. It has now gone down in the ladder to the 27th place. The Finance Minister, in the course of his speech, wanted something to be a ladder and not a lid. This ladder is oriented downwards and not upwards.

I will not take much of the time in comparing India with China. In all the social indicators like expectation of life, elimination of illiteracy, quality of life and quality of health, the UN Year Book and the World Bank Reports will tell us that we are lagging far behind, in what we call giant strides. I quote these figures.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): These figures are from 1980 only, not 1985.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : I will come to that also. The difficulty is that our Finance Ministers year after year do not pose the problem in the dimensions and in the traditions of the patriotic Independence movement of the country. They tinker with the problems, and introduce half measures. Because they are gliding on the surface, they have to rest content only in half truths because they refuse to go deeper and meet the challenge which the heritage of our country desires us to do.

Some of the ruling party Members, who share some of our opinions, have requested me to mention or recognise the positive points also. I recognise them in the course of my speech. But in the course, what is the general tenor ? The general tenor is in terms of resource cons-

traint and in terms of appeal for sacrifices. Of course, we hesitate to remind ourselves of one late December evening when the Members of Parliament decided to sacrifice in a negative way by adding to their emoluments. The answer to the resource constraint is posed in a very neat way. Is there any alternative excepting raising prices ? Is there any alternative excepting by imposing more burden on the poor ? My submission, Sir, is that if in a country like ours of which we are all proud, the only question that can be posed is that without hitting the poor, the country cannot advance. If the framework is so designed the only question that comes up is to ask the people—who are poor— to sacrifice ? Don't you think that the framework that is binding upon you is itself defective ? And there must be a breakaway framework. I would ask the Finance Minister to answer this question in all his honesty. There were a few claims about this last year. There are a few claims both in the budget about the collections and about the expenditure pattern. I will come to that later on. What are the claims ? On page 10, in part 'A' paragraph 38, the Finance Minister says, I indicate the analysis where it has failed to go deeper, 'Among developing countries, India has the distinction of having one of the highest rates of savings." Then follows a statement that there is a resource constraint. I want to ask first : why is it so that India has the highest rate of savings ? Sir, any student of economics will tell you. This is something fantastic that the savings rate is high because of the toil of the people and hard work of the people. Everybody Knows that more unequal the society, the higher the savings rate. You deny people when they want food. You generate surplus in the hands of the rich and have a higher rate of savings. This is an elementary postulate in all bourgeois economic thinking. The fact that we have a very high rate of savings is itself indicative that in the course of the last 35 years we have succeeded in distributing our income and wealth further unequally. Even then, if you do have such a high rate of savings, how is it that you face a resource constraint ? It is said in the Economic Survey itself, on page 3, para 1.16 and then again on page 38, para 4.23—let them note this! let the Finance Minister also note this—that there is a tremendous buoyancy in the share markets. This is noted in the Economic Survey—should I say, a little shamelessly ? You say there is a resource constraint. And the press reports say that the anticipated growth rate in the private sector in the next two years is 18 per cent. That is supposed to be a result of the resource constraints

Sir, there is also another thing which highlights the situation in the private sector. The annual rate of increase in the assets of the top 20 houses—this is from the *Economic Times*—is 40.5 per cent. We know where the resources are flowing. When the rate of growth on our national income is less than 5 per cent, the rate of growth for these 20 top houses is 40.5 per cent. May I also draw the attention of the House in this connection and in passing, to the fact that the assets of these 20 top houses—mind you, only 20—come to Rs. 12,261 crores. What is the total for the public sector ? The public sector enterprises have total investments—this is the latest figure as far as I have been able to get—of Rs. 40,000 crores. Against this figure of Rs. 40,000 crores, imagine 20 large houses controlling Rs. 12,000 crores.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI : It is Rs. 52,000 crores.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTEERJE: It is Rs. 40,000 crores. You Take it from me. We can quarrel about it later. It was Rs. 36,000 crores and it has grown to Rs. 40,000 crores. Just

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imagine The public sector, controlled by the Government, elected on the basis of the entire population of the country, on the basis of adult suffrage, is having control over the of Rs. 40,000 crores. And these 20 top houses meet the challenge on the basis of a figure of Rs. 12,000 crores. You say, you aim at development with social justice and equity. And who controls ? You can imagine. Sir, this is the situation in the context of which the Finance Minister is forced to acknowledge that there is a constraint of resources, that there have to be sacrifices, that, therefore, the diesel prices should be raised and that, therefore, the subsidies have to be withdrawn.

Then I come to some of the claims in the context of the budget. It is said in the Budget Speech at page 2 para 8, chiding us — "At that time many a prophet of doom have prophesied that revenues will fall and buoyancy of the tax system will be further eroded." I have tried to discover who were those prophets of doom. I give you the figures of tax collection—net of shares of the States transferred insteed of gross figures which it reflects. In 1984-85 the collection from income-tax other than corporation tax was Rs. 696 crores net of transfers. What was the Budget estimate for 1985-86 ? Was it more than this ? The Budget estimate was 426. Who prophesied doom ? From 426 It was way below some 250 crores lese than the collection of 1984-85. The claim is that you have arrived at 551 crores. That is the revised estimate. And thereby hangs the tale. And that tale is this : From the Economic Survey Page 72 the tale is—

"In order to improve tax compliance and to induce the tax-payers to disclose their true income the Income-Tax Department has issued circulars to the effect that the Department's approach towards these assessees who would come forward to declare their true income and wealth voluntarily would be sympathetic and liberal in matters of penalty and prosecutor.

This is no bearer bonds. Is there similarits in that ? There is. When you floated bearer bonds this was the kind of approach. The instrument was slightly different. But in the case of bearer bonds you collected as much or even more. When you say that this year because of the decrease in the rates you have collected, you are merely trying to efface a bit of recent history. The bearer bonds did give you much more than this jump from 426 to 551 crores. Therefore, this claim of growth in income-tax is only a half truth and the full truth is out only when the bearer bonds are taken into consideration On other occasions I had drawn the the attention of the Finance Minister, in his Budget Speech he claims that as a percentage of GDP the income-tax collections have grown. Agreed. Give more concessions for all black income that was generated in the past and say that this Year I am having a rate which is nil. You kindly disclose it. It is 1 per cent. You kindly disclose it. You can have it.

But, Sir, the Finance Minister will not once again come out with the full truth. Sir, during the Seventh Plan period, he makes a reference to his long-term fiscal policy. He also says that he is working within that framework. Let me quote from his long-term fiscal policy, from page 3, para 3, para 1·8. Is it only said therein that the share of Income-tax as a percentage of GDP must grow ? Someting else also has been said which is this : "....the share of direct taxes in total tax reveune over a period of time so that the fiscal system as a whole becomes even more progressive.". That was the target and this target, unfortunately, does not find any mention in the speech of the Finance Minister and appropriately so.

Sir, the Finance Minister has claimed that through this kind of

concessions to the private sector, the growth in collections in respect of the Income-Tax is 24 per cent, the average being 22 or 23 per cent. But has the ratio changed that significantly ?

Now, Sir, I will come to the Budget provisions a little later. But let me first deal with the situation with regard to prices. Sir, it is true that the wholesale prices have grown at a lower rate than in the unfortunate days of his predecessor, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. It is true But, Sir, let us desegregate the Wholesale Price Index. It is also admitted, as an unfortunate incident, that there is pressure on the food group and the pressure on the food group is depressed by the low pressures of the growers of cotton, of raw jute and of coconut. The Wholesale Price Index is depressed because of the fact that the growers of cotton, the growers of jute and the growers of coconut do not get prices which by now we have started associating with the term "remunerative prices". While they receive a lower income, the prices, the administered prices, of the food articles, edible oils, sugar and other things continue to rise, but not the prices of sugarcane So their claim has to be taken with a pinch of salt. And, Sir, as a result of this, the Survey admits, there is a surge in the growth of the consumer prices, a surge in the growth in the Consumer Price Index. It is now growing at a rate around seven or eight per cent.

Now, Sir, I have a second comment to offer. Even this rate in the rise in prices is a warning. Does not this by itself mean a serious warning ? Is it not true that this limited depression of prices is also due to the fact that we are on the verge of establishing another record in terms of trade deficit ? Once again, Sir, this is elementary economics. What does trade deficit mean ? It means that we export, say, five hundred rupees' worth of goods and also import not only five hundred rupees' worth of goods, but much more than that. If the reduction in the wholesale price index has to be there, what you require is a deficit of the order which you tried to deny but the World Bank forecast for India that they are going to have a deficit of Rs. 9000 crores in the course of 1987-88 and 1988-89. It is because of this that there is some impact on the prices. The young Prime Minister of the 21st century said : are we not proud that for our industrial purposes we are dependent on foreign aid to the extent of only 6 per cent ? Well, one is entitled to one's pride in this matter. Six per cent in a day is one and a half hours a day. The beggar comes and tells you : I beg for no more than for one and a half hours a day, please do not call me a beggar, for the rest of the time I indulge in other kinds of activities, including the oldest profession.

Sir, I now come to another aspect. The Finance Minister—my hats off to him !—recognizes in his speech on page 9, para 34, that the true asset of our country is labour. One cannot agree more. And yet what has happened to this true asset ? Apart from inflicting rising prices on them, this asset—has it been allowed its role to play ? Have the assets of the 20 top companies allowed to play in the economy ? Let us refer to the survey once again. This is page 44, English version. Sir, here it says how the assets have been utilised—this true asset of the country, of which all of us want to be legitimately proud ? It is said : "Employment in the organised sector at the end of March 1985..." etc., showing a moderate increase of 1·4 per cent over the previous year. And just to underline what the policy of the liberalisation for the private sector implies this average figure is due to the fact that in the public sector the increase is 2·3 per cent, and to the credit of the private sector it is a decline, though infinitesimally it is a nominal one, which is 0·6 per cent. We are liberalising our economy in order to help this private

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sector so that the true assets, as has been correctly stated, are utilised. And what is the upshot of this kind of employment situation ? We all know that the unemployed job-seekers, the labour force, rose at a much higher rate than 1·4 per cent. The upshot is that the job-seekers on the live register of the employment exchanges is 239·15 lakhs-more than two crores.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Prof. Chatterjee, the time allotted to your Party is 45 minutes. Of course, you have got ten more minutes. I just want to inform you that. If you are continuing....

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal) : Let him continue.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : I will continue.

So, with regard to employment in the organised sector, the growth rate of unemployment to the credit of the Government as of March, 1985 was 5·8 per cent. Subsequently, the figure for August, 1985 is that the rate has increased to 8·7 per cent. This is what we are doing to our true asset in order that we make up for the lost time.

On the question of industry, what is the situation ? The situation is that there are reports which say that the steel industry will not be able to grow as much as we desire. There was a time when we said that steel should be the leading sector. We have given up that idea. Our projections are that as we approach the 21st century, there will be a gap in the demand for steel and the production of steel. And for the first time—it was on record—in our history, there is a piece of information. India, the ancient maritime power, had been continuously expanding its maritime fleet. But for the first time it is recorded that there has ena decline this year compared to the past. That indicates our approach to the problems of industrialisation and self-reliance.

I now come to the question of poverty level, associated with this very true asset of the country. Sir, only yesterday we have been provided with the Annual Plan for 1985-86 and better late than never, for my speech also. It is claimed, Sir, that in the course of the Sixth Five Year Plan, we have succeeded in reducing the percentage of population below the poverty line. The instruments mentioned are the anti-poverty programme like IRDP and others. Now, I quote from the 1985-86 *Annual Plan* : "The Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission had taken a detailed evaluation study. According to its findings 26 per cent of the sample families assisted were already above the annual income level of Rs. 3,500. Then, at the time of selection, of the remaining 74 per cent, nearly half had been able to cross the income level of Rs. 3,500". That is, 37 per cent of the assisted 15 million households have crossed—which figure? —the figure of Rs. 3,500. Should we not be enlightened that the poverty-line today is no longer at Rs. 3,500 ? It is nearly double today. Real poverty line has crossed Rs. 6400. How many people, therefore, out of this IRDP come above the poverty line so that in the course of the Sixth Five Year Plan you arrive at a figure of population percentage which was below this at the beginning ?

I now refer to another anti-poverty programme which is known as NREP. Figures are given here again. Manday cost is Rs. 14·74 and here this cost is divided in another column in terms of wage and material ratio. The wage : material ratio is 60:40. Mr. Salve has his pocket calculator and he can calculate and will discover that this means Rs. 8·84 as the

daily wage rate of those engaged in NREP. To have in annual income of Rs. 6400 working even for 300 days in the year the requirement is the wage rate of Rs. 21/-. Have the people crossed the poverty line ? What then is the mystery of his figure of 37 per cent Quite simple it is I know it. I handle statistics of National Sample Survey. You have lost all sense of perspective. You believe in accidents exactly as the Sixth Plan growth rate is calculated on the basis of an accidental year of foodgrain failure 1979-80 in order to show this rate which by now the Seventh five year plan also recognises. Exactly and similarly, [the reference here for calculation of the National Sample Survey was 1983-84.] All that you have worked on is the record harvest of the country and because of that accidental selection of the year, you have got that figure of 37 per cent. Next year, there was a fall in foodgrains production. This year it is claimed that foodgrains production has grown by 2 per cent above the last year. What happened in the last year? Last year, the foodgrains production declined by 4 per cent. This year we are going to achieve a level of 150 million tonnes, still less than what we achieved in 1983-84, which was 152 million tonnes. This is what you have done in the course of our engineering of human beings as the true asset of the country. Now I come to the Budget proposals.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Your time is almost over.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : The Chair always gives me indulgence.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH) : So long, the debate was outside the Budget.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : It was preamble to the Budget, and now I come to the Budget proposals.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please don't take more time.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : Sir, the Budget has some welcome features. For instance, this Budget says that there will be excise duties on the three items which.....

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH : You are on 'A' part or 'B' part of the Budget ?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : I am on part B. We were repeatedly mentioning these three items. Some friends in the ruling party also shared this opinion that motor cars should be taxed more, that air-conditioners should be taxed more, that refrigerators should be taxed more. Some say, this is a retreat. I take a different view. Retreat was in the last year. Perhaps, it is a step forward. I welcome this. It is nice to see that the Finance Minister has agreed that the interest rates on provident fund should be increased.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: (Uttar Pradesh) : What about growth in Bengal ?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : We do not have any Kalp Nath Rai there. Therefore, there is no growth.

Now, Sir, there are also some curiosities in the Budget proposal. The net increase in revenue from direct taxes is only Rs. 21 crores. From indirect taxes, it is twenty-times more. Will it lead to further progression ? Despite the fact that luxuries have been taxed more, the ratio between the direct and the indirect taxes is going to worsen further. It has been said, the Prime Minister has said, that the Budget is taxing the rich, and that the Opposition is not happy on this. Let me give the figures...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude within two minutes.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : Please give me a few minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : I think, the ruling party would also agree to give me this much time.

Sir, the proposed collection of direct taxes...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I cannot give you more than two minutes.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : Just a few minutes more. Sir, the revenue from the tax on income and expenditure is estimated at Rs. 3729 crores for 1985-86. What is the estimate by the Government for next year? More? It is slightly less. It is Rs. 3708 crores. This is the quantum of revenue generated from direct taxes. Not only here. What about the tax on properties and capital transactions? The collection was to be Rs. 146 crores in the Budget estimates. In the revised estimates, it came down to Rs. 135 crores. This Rs. 135 crores is less than that for 1984-85, which was Rs. 139 crores. This is the direction in which the tax proposals are going on.

Now, as far as the deficit is concerned, the Finance Minister says that we can absorb the deficit of Rs. 4,490 crores, calculated in a particular manner. True. You compare this with the revised estimates. But why don't you compare this with your Budget estimates once again? You proposed, you estimated, Rs. 3,300 crores. Your record is not that good. When you proposed Rs. 1650 crores in 1984-85, you ended up with a deficit of Rs. 3900 crores. When you estimated Rs. 3300 crores, you ended up with a deficit of Rs. 4490 crores Now, you are envisaging a deficit of Rs. 3650 crores and you say that the economy can absorb this deficit. Yes. Economy can absorb. By moving into a debt trap and increased deficit in the trade balance.

I have just two more points to make. One is, apart from tax collection we shall discuss this in greater detail in the Consultative Committee meeting-what is the expenditure pattern? I am sorry to say that the expenditure pattern also betrays a complete forfeiture of the interests, long-term interests, of the country. I will not take your time by going into the details. I will give just one figure. Please see page 40 of the Plan document. What proportion your anti-poverty programmes account for in the total Plan outlay? Of course, we do support the anti-poverty programmes. They are a direct assault on poverty. They are
1 P.M. al lshort- term measures. In the long run if the economy has to survive it must be that out of public sector outlay the investments would have a larger share. The Seventh Five Year Plan framework helped us by allocating a lower investment total in the public sector compared to the private sector. There is no doubt about it and in the course of years that is declining faster and faster. (*Time bell rings*) I am coming to the conclusion. Therefore, what has happened is, you have entered into a division of labour with the private sector. You have allowed the funds to the private sector. They will invest, they will generate profit and they will generate poverty. The public sector's job has now become only to indulge in anti-poverty programmes so that their market remains, their surplus reamins and you come out with welfare programmes. We want more of them but you talk less of competition and more of economics of scale. This is what we are witnessing in the automobiles industry. There is a conflict between the competition in our market and the economics of scale. If you choose economics of scale, the units

must be so big that they are non-competitive. That is how monopoly and large houses grow. Therefore, it is required in the economy that in all such cases if there has to be a monopoly that must be in public sector and not in the private sector. But Sir, that is what deliberately the Government is trying to avoid.

I have no more time I would, therefore, like to just make a few suggestions. Is there a way out ? There is a way out. You have to break away from the framework. If you want to reduce your expenditure you down with all contractor labour, all contractor system. They do not pay the workers. They only greeze the palm of the officers and mint money. Eliminate that system and with half of that expenditure you can achieve as much result.

You want to utilise the true asset. What delays workers' participation in accounts and management in the public sector? You want the prices to be controlled. What prevents you from nationalising wholesale trade in major items? But the only alternative you have chosen is to make the poor more poor. You are trying to pose as if you are taxing the rich in order to help the poor. You are using your public sector funds to finance the private sector.

We have suggested expenditure tax we are seeing that our people, with all this type of poverty, are staying in five-star hotels. Why can't you say that anybody spending more than Rs 40,000 a year will pay 10 per cent of tax ? And then you say that there is a problem of resources.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am calling the other speaker.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Thank you, Sir, I conclude.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (Gujarat) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, ir, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity for makin my observations on annual Budget presented by the Finance Minister. Sir, I also take this opportunity of congratulating you for being elected as the Deputy Chairman because on earlier occasion I did not have the privilege of speaking.

Sir, as the presentation of Budget is an annual exercise, similarly the line of criticism we hear or the reactions which we have to the Budget proposals can also be framed in certain very well known phrases. Almost like the instant coffee, these reactions are instant and attempts are being made to put adjectives like "pedestrain", "lack-lustre", "growth-oriented", "savings-orient ed" "pro-rich", "pro-poor" etc. etct But, Sir, keeping aside the approach of formal critics, if we look at the proposals presented by the Finance Minister and if we keep in mind the situation under which he had to formulate his proposals, perhaps we shall do more justice to him. To take any individual proposal and place it out of context would not be fair and it would not be possible for us to come to the right type of conclusion.

An attempt has been made to project that perhaps Government has made a 'U' turn in the approach which the Finance Minister took while presenting the budget of the new Government in the last years. He indicated a large number of measures which are of fairly medium term and long-term implication and if we look at the budget proposals of the current year, we will find that there is a continuity and there must be continuity. You cannot expect that in every budget proposal there will be a dramatic turn every year and simply that type of adhocism cannot be expected. And I am glad that the Finance Minister has not provided such dramatic twists in his proposals for the current year. He has taken the various factors and realities into

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account, the task of providing adequate resources to fund the Plan, this being the second year of the Seventh Five Year Plan and at the same time to concretise the policies initiated by him in the last years when the new Government assumed office. These measures were necessary. Therefore, I do not subscribe to the view that there is a break. To my mind there is continuity and right type of continuity.

Secondly, through these proposals, I must say that there has been breaking away from convention. Obviously his Government is known for breaking away from convention. But some of the things may raise questions. Before I go to the proposals, I would like to bring one such point. Take the case of long-term fiscal policy. Sir, long-term fiscal policies have been announced and the Budget has also been presented in line with this. I am not going into the merits of the issue. But still one question remains to be answered. In the constitutional framework in which we are functioning, it is the prerogative of Parliament, or more specifically it is the prerogative of the House elected directly by the people to impose taxes and duties, the principle enunciated from the very beginning of the representative form of government being "No taxation without representation". Now can we assume Parliament for all time to come to give approval to a longterm policy in which the rates of taxes are pre-determined? I am not going into the merits of the issue. Even agreeing that the party has the majority and can get it approved. But the basic question I am raising is, as per provisions of the Constitution under Art. 112, we are to present the annual estimates to the House for its approval and while presenting the annual statements of receipts and expenditure, the rates of taxes through which we are raising revenues have some relevance. Is it not that in this document we are assuming that these reduced rates of taxes are approved for a specific period of time, say till the end of the current plan, through the Finance Minister will have to come every year to repeat in his budget proposals the same rates of taxes? Can we assume approval of Parliament for granted? But obviously this is a technical question and it concerns the other House more. But I must congratulate him for taking the initiative in one major area of demystifying the budget proposals. The budget proposals are shrouded in secrecy and most of the information contained in Part A of the Finance Minister's speech and which Member of Parliament had the exclusive privilege of listening from him, were known earlier this year. These are the two side points and not of much importance. But if he can carry the reforms further, then a lot of headache will be removed, particularly so far as the Finance Minister is concerned, because from the day of formulating the proposals till he presents them he has to keep his nerves tense wondering whether something is coming out and immediately Members of Parliament will jump at him saying that there is a budget leakage and so on and so forth.

One of the major developments in the area of economy this year is of the revenue policy. The Finance Minister has admitted that there has been a tremendous surge in the revenue realization; in direct taxes almost 36 per cent., personal income taxes; over all, from all major taxes the yield has been to the extent of 22 per cent. And he has pointed out that the effectiveness of a fiscal policy is not empty theorizing but the actual revenue it generates. Here what I would like to know from him is whether it has been possible for him to determine the exact correlation between the reduction of rates of taxes and the yield. Why I am raising this question is because

if we look at our ten structure for a period of, say, ten years, then we find that in the 1974-75 budget the then Finance Minister reduced the highest rate of marginal tax from 97 to 77. After two years, in the 1976-77 budget, the Finance Minister further reduced the highest rate of marginal tax from 77 to 66. While presenting the budget in 1976-77 the then Finance Minister made almost similar observations like the present Finance Minister, that with the reduction of taxes we have been able to collect more. Obviously there were certain other factors. In 1975 there was the Voluntary Disclosure Scheme and income and wealth amounting to almost Rs. 1,400 crores were brought to light and some additional revenues were realized out of it. But what is intriguing to me is that the same were buoyancy does not continue when I see the presentation of the budget by the Finance Minister in 1978-79. While reviewing the tax realization for 1977-78 as the revised estimates, he points out that there had been a shortfall of income tax and corporation taxes to the extent of Rs. 36 crores. In the 1977-78 budget, as you are aware, surcharge was increased from 10 to 15 per cent on personal income taxes, and wealth tax on the highest income slab it was raised by one per cent for 15 lakhs and above, but it was almost at the same rate—2-1/2 per cent—at the lowest slab, and for the middle slab it was raised by half a percent. And the projection which the then Finance Minister did while presenting his proposals was that his net tax revenue would increase by about Rs. 90 crores from this proposal. But still the rate of tax remained at 56 per cent. And even if you assume that with the increase of 5 per cent surcharge at the highest rate of marginal tax would be determined at 69 per cent, it was 8 percentage points less than 77 per cent. What are the reasons? Have we been able to establish the correlation between the rate of reduction of taxes and higher yield? Or is this a one-time gain? Because after the reduction of taxes in 1974-75 and 1976-77 we got the benefit for the two years including the benefit of the operation of the scheme of voluntary disclosure. But for the next five, six years we could not establish the correlation that if you reduce the rate of taxes you will get more.

Secondly, Sir, particularly for this particular year I will be interested to know because I could not do the arithmetic to what extent we have been able to get out of 80(J) of the higher yield. I am told by some experts that by rough and ready calculation it may be about Rs. 300 crores. This point I am making particularly because if we can determine and establish a scientific correlation by a detailed analysis between the rate of taxes and the realisation, it would be of great help to the future policy-maker.

Thirdly, Sir, in this connection I would also like to know whether it has been possible for the Finance Minister to make any assessment about the impact of the raids, searches and seizures. I read in one article written by one of the economic journalists, and he has claimed that because of the rate of reduction of taxes, the simplification of the procedure and the raids and searches conducted by the Department, it has been possible to get declaration of income of almost Rs. 10,000 crores. It was an effort towards demolishing parallel economy. Is this statement or the analysis correct ? Has the Finance Minister any figure to establish it ? If I look at the raids, searches and seizures, I find that sometimes it steps up. Particularly this year it has stepped up, and no doubt it has made a contribution. For instance, the total number of raids, I find in 1984, were 19,000. In 1985 it has become 21,665. The value of the assets seized almost doubled, and the value of the assets seized last year has gone up to

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Rs. 36.7 crores from Rs. 18.27 crores. But what is the exact correlation Are we in a position to indicate this ? Or is this a one-time gain and after this, this revenue buoyancy gets static ?

Now, coming to the area of the price, Sir, I do agree with the Finance Minister that it was possible for the Government to reduce the rate of inflation at the wholesale prices. But is it a rather simplistic approach to assume that the entire deficit has been absorbed in the whole system because the deficit which was shown in the budget estimates of about Rs. 3,300 crores has gone up to Rs. 4,095 crores. And the whole impact of this deficit is yet to be felt. Partly it has been felt, no doubt. But he has taken the expenditure up to 31st March including the third batch of supplementaries. And the impact of the deficit financing is to be felt fully, and it has not yet been felt. Then, if we add the deficit which we have, which he has shown this year—Rs. 3,650 crores he has shown this year if he gets a similar type of revenue buoyancy in the next year, what would be the impact of these two years, deficits in the next three or three-and-a-half years ? Secondly, he will agree with me that it is not merely the quesiton of deficit financing. I do agree that with the size of the economy and with the stock of money available with him, perhaps this amount of deficit can be abosorbed. Perhaps it would be justified on his part to claim that deficit is not solely contributing to the price rise. But if we take into account the implications and impact of certain other developments, which he was compelled take to and I will be one to support him wholeheartedly and I do not subscribe to the views that these measures were not necessary. They were absolutely necessary to fund the Plan. But what would be the impact? Take the first year of the Sixth Plan. The wholesale price Index was about 16 and odd per cen. Though it came down from 21 in 1980-81, it was 16.7 per cent, but the Consumer Price Index was 12.6. Similarly when in 1981-82 the WPI came down, its rise was 2.4 but that of the CPI was 8.8. Last year i.e. 1984-85, as per the Minister Statement on 8-2-1985 the WPI rise was 5.4 against 3.4 of this year on the same date. But CPI variation I find was 4.3 and 7.5. There is no denial of the fact that there is a time lag between the two. But we are noticing for the last two or three years that these two lines are not moving parallel for a very long time. What are the reasons ? Have we been able to find out and sort it out ? This point also he will have to keep in mind.

Coming to the third area of his Budget proposals, I congratulate him for substantially stepping up the allocation for rural development. He has stepped up it by 65 per cent. I wish he should have stepped it up a little more last year. Then this 65 per cent would have helped us considerably. But he had his problems and one would have to live with it.

Now, which is the area of concern? To my mind it is the area of resource mobilisation to fund the plan. To my mind, perhaps the Finance Minister has become a little soft towards that. Why I am saying so is this. It was projected in the Plan Document that deficit financing at the 1984-85 prices would be about Rs. 14,000 crores for a period of five years. I am making a comparison between whatever are our projections and actuals. For instance, in the Sixth Plan the deficit financing was projected at Rs. 14,000 crores. But in the Sixth Plan we have already crossed more than Rs. 20,000 crores. Now coming to the Seventh Plan, if we add Rs. 3,650 of the current year—1986-87 and Revised Estimates level of Rs. 4,000 and odd crores for the 1985-86 we have in first two years reached a sum of about

Rs. 8,000 crores. So the deficit finance as a source of funding the Plan may go much beyond the projected figure of Planning Commission. It is more concerning the States in this context. He is in a better position to know the performance, because when we talk of the implementation of the plan we take the totality into account. If I remember correctly from the newspapers I find that six States have presented thier Budgets and out of these six States only one State has made some efforts to mobilise resources through additional taxation. The newspaper headlines says that all other States have presented a tax-free budget. Whether the resources position projected by the States to the Planning Commission and their commitment to mop up additional resources are in tune with the buget which they have presented to their respective State Assemblies ? Sir, why I am raising this question because if we look at the performance of Sixth Five Year Plan in financial terms we will notice that it was not possible for us to reach the plan target in real terms, though in nominal terms the outlay in the public sector has gone up from Rs. 97,500 crores to more than Rs. 110,000 crores. But in real terms at the price of 1979-80 it was short of 15 to 20 per cent. Even if you come to the areas upto State sector and the Centre, you will find that while the Centre could step up in nominal terms from Rs. 48,500 crores to almost Rs. 60,000 crores, the States step up even in nominal terms was almost marginal from Rs. 49,000 crores to Rs. 51,000 crores. therefore, we have this experience and it is not that the Centre's scope of revenue has widened. Because for the first four years of the last plan you had to share only 40 per cent of your excise duty with the States. Now it has been increased upto 45 per cent. whether all the States will get this 5 per cent is immaterial, because it is not commimg to the Central exchequer. On the other hand it is goirg to the States to meet part of their grant -in-aid. Therefore resources are being reduced. This is one area where, I think, we have to accept it. But the resources projection and particularly the expenditure projection of the Central Government to my mind whatever has been projected in the 8th Finance Commission is not fully realistic Take the case of subsidies both in the plan document and in the Finance Commission report it has been pagged at the particular level. Have we been able to keep it? The Finance Minister in a part of his statement himself mentioned that with this rate of subsidy it will reach almost Rs. 41,000 crores at the end of five year period. With the present rate which we had to give in the first two years of the current plan, can we sustain this rate? What are we going to do? Let we put as suggestion. I am not quite sure whether the suggestion would be quite popular one, but perhaps it is high time to examine this. Take the case of fertilisers subsidy. I do agree that it has adirect beraing with us the consumption of fertilizer. We found it we withdraw the fertilizers subsidy the consumption of fertilizers goes down. So we had to subsidise fertilizers. But whatever we give through subsidies hidden or open does not make farmers happy. They complain about high cost and they are not happy with the A.P.C. recommendations Whatever the agricultural Prices Commission determines the prices of the agricultural commodities, the farmers are not going to be happy. Whether we can take the market rates into account and thereafter determine the prices of the agricultural commodities and do away with the subsidy, what would be economic impact? I am not quite sure what would be the economic impact? To my mine, after all there is no carpet under which we can keep these subsidies like lower rate of irrigation taxes, lower rate of electricity charges, subsidy on fertilizers. Even if we

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take into account the market rate the actual cost of production and get it reflected in the price determined by the Agricultural Prices Commission instead of stepping the price by Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 we may have to step up by Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 per quintal. I think when he examines the whole issue of subsidies, he can look into this particular aspect as to what would be the economic impact and what would be the disadvantages and so on.

Now, coming to the funding arrangements for the Seventh Five Year Plan,I think when we discussed the Seventh Five Year Plan, at that time also I drew the attention of the Planning Minister but it is the Finance Minister who is more concerned with it, in the sense that after all, he is to provide money. The Planning Commission is not going to generate any resources; it is not going to provide money. The FinanceMinister is to provide money. The contribution which you are expecting from the public sector enterprises as per the Plan document, Table 4.1, page 53, is Rs. 35,485 crores. But in the speech you yourself are admitting that in the this very year, there has been a serious dstortion. For the funding of the Central Plan, you expected to get 53 per cent from the public sector's own internal resources and you expected that your budgetary contribution would be limited only to 47 per cent. But what has actually happened, according to your statement, is that the budgetary support has gone up to 66 per cent and the contribution from the public sector enterprises has come down to 34 per cent. That means, 47 has gone up to 66 and 53 has come down to 34. It is possible, we or it is realistic when we say that the State Electricity Boards negative contribution would be minus Rs. 1,569 crores or that the State Road Transport's negative contribution would be Rs. 415 crores for a period of five years ? Sir we faced this dichotomy during the Sixth Five Year Plan and there was a constant duel of words between the State Governments and the Government of India. The States always claimed that they mopped up additional reasources, that their additional resource mobilisation effort was very successful and that they went beyond their target. Arithmetically there is no denial of that fact. But the fact also remains that the BCR went down very heavily. The negative contribution from these two particular sectors was projected—I do not remember the exact figures--roughly at Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 crores, taking the Road Transport Corporations and the State Electricity Boards together. But actually it went beyond Rs. 2,000 crores—their negative contribution. Even in the Central Government, we had to face a situation where we found that our BCR became, instead of being positive, was negative during the Sixth Five Year Plan. The States were to contribute about Rs. 13,000 or Rs. 14,000 crores, Actually I think it became almost half of that. In the Sixth Five Year Plan, the balance from current revenues was to be positive at Rs. 1,893 crores. But actually it became negative. The States and the Centre taken together, it became positive. In this Plan we expect a total negative figure of Rs. 5,249 crores. To my mind, this will also go up. Therefore, we are facing a situation where the negative contribution of the balance from current revenues is increasing. In other words, the real resources are going down. And if the contribution from the public sector is not going to be up to our expectations, then from where are we going to have the resources to fund the Plan? This is the area where we shall have to have a very hard look. Can we afford? In nominal terms, he has allocated 40 per cent of the total Plan outlay in the first two years. But what is happening on the ground?

Are we getting the feedback that the States have been able to reach the Plan targets which were there in 1985-86? In the Government of

India this year definitely much improvement has taken place in the sense that I find that from Part B of the speech it was Rs. 18500 crores, in the revised estimates it is Rs. 20093 crores and in 1986-87 you are going to provide Rs. 22300 crores. Why I am raising this question is actually we have reached a stage and it is not for the last one year or two years, but over a period of three or four or five years it has taken place. Today we are making our entire developmental expenditure out of the borrowed money...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): And deficit financing.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: After all, borrowed money is also created money. Even a part of our normal revenue expenditure we are meeting from borrowings. Can we carry on like this for all times to come? In respect of another area I am not quite sure whether it would be possible, in terms of percentage this plan you are taking into account that almost 10 per cent of your expenditure would be from net capital inflow from abroad—18000 crores, in terms of percentage it is 10 per cent. If I remember correctly, during the Sixth Five Year Plan in absolute terms it came to about 7 per cent or 6 per cent. The other day the Prime Minister also mentioned about it. We shall have to keep in mind that in the first two years of the Sixth Plan the international aid climate or cooperation climate was a little better compared to the last three years of the Sixth Plan and this time we are starting with a very hostile aid climate. It is not merely this. We are the worst hit. You are fully aware of the developments in IDA. The ratio between the assistance which we are getting from IDA and IRDP and the attitude which other financial institutions are taking, and if we depend more on foreign borrowing or commercial borrowing, there is also a danger because in the first six months of the current year we find that the trade gap has almost doubled. Of course, these figures are absolutely unrealistic in the sense because these are too provisional to believe. But if I take them for some sort of a calculation, in the first six months our trade gap has been almost 4000 crores compared to 2000 crores in the previous year. In terms of percentage import has increased by 27 to 28 percent and in export there is almost stagnation, there is hardly any growth. It is true you had no option. In order to strengthen your supply management and particularly in order to keep the prices down you had to import certain commodities in a very huge quantity which otherwise we would not have imported. And I entirely agree with the argument and this is the rationale, for the increase in the prices of petroleum products and as I said, and may I say it again although I will annoy almost everybody, but at the same time for one simple question we have to find an answer to: Can this country afford to have a growth of this magintude in the costly hydrocarbon energy resources? If today we do mind paying more, a day will come when we will not be in a position to have hydrocarbon energy at all. After all, our resources are limited. No expert can say that we have unlimited resources and price mechanism is one of the most effective instruments which we used and it was because of this instrument it was possible for the whole decade of 70s to keep the growth of demand in hydrocarbon energy around 3·5 to 3·6 per cent in the whole decade of '70 s and it has been appreciated. It has been appreciated that we depend heavily on water and coal to have our energy. Now, if a situation arises, which I think we will have to face and which is a reality, when the kerosene prices would be cheaper than that of soft coal, what will happen? I am not talking of the hardship; hardships are there and there are many hardships. I also fully appraciate that we have been able to electrify the vellages. This is the most important lighting material. But can we have this type of a distortion in our economy? Can theeconomy

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bear it? Can we have this type of a distortion where we will have to face a situation when soft coal is costlier than kerosene oil? And what other instruments do you have? What are the other instruments which you are having except the price machanism? The other instrument which we shall have to have is physical control : Do not produce automobiles which use hydrocarbon sources of energy; reduce your production of public carriers or private automobiles. The resources that are consumed are so little in personalised transport sector, but they are mainly used for carrying goods. Therefore, this is an area where I do feel that the Government will have to concentrate more. In this connection, I would like to repeat the suggestion which I made last year that we should make it a little bit costlier. We are going to have it. And, Sir, he has also rightly allocated a huge amount of money for the energy sector this year also. But can we confine our activities, by and large, only to exploration rather than exploitation? You should reduce it, and I will welcome it. I say this because, after all, nobody is going to take away our oil. Therefore, if we explore the oil resources so long as the oil prices remain relatively cheaper, that would be better. The other day, Sir, I saw a reply by the Finance Minister in the other House and it is true that today even the international prices, though reduced, is costlier to us. But, at the same time, we shall have to keep in mind that this is a non-renewable source of energy and we cannot simply think of today or tomorrow only, we must think beyond that also. So, whatever resources we have, if we carry on exploration and if we limit our exploitation and use the advantage which we have by purchasing from abroad, that would be better. After all, the foreign exchange outgo in the oil sector is huge because most of the things are being imported including the expertise, the know-how, the designs and drawings, etc. and it is a very huge investment which we make in the oil sector. Here I am not talking about the oil production side, but I am talking about the other type of ancillary advantages which we can get from the investment of a huge amount of money in this sector which we are not getting because a part of it is going abroad in hard foreign currency. So, that angle also should be examined.

Sir, I do not know whether I have taken too much time. But I would like to make one or two points more. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it has been pointed out by my predecessor while making his observations that every year we find the deficits going up. It is not so. After all, i the Budget Estimates and the Revised Estimates are taken to gether, he will get some figures. But he will find that the deficits have been less. Secondly, Sir, he has mentioned that we are giving up the policy of self-reliance. Where are we giving up self-reliance? He has quoted the figure of Rs. 41,000 crores as the public sector investment and the figure of Rs. 12,000 crores in the private sector of the monopoly houses. Why don't you have a look at the other set of figures? What is the share of the public sector in the registered companies in terms of percentage today? If I remember correctly, Sir, when we started our First Plan and when only five public sector enterprises were there under the Centre, the share of the public sector, I mean, in terms of percentage in the overall corporate management was just 23. But , today, Sir, the picture is just the reverse. The share of the public sector is 77 per cent and the share of the private sector has come down to 23 per cent. In absolute terms, it would obviously increase and it is bound to increase. And nobody from the Governmentor from the party has said that we have declared that there will be no private sector. In our Plans we earmarked a role for the private sector. And when a particular role is being earmarked for the private sector, the private sector has to operate in that area and it is of no use saying that

there should be no private sector and the private sector should not be permitted to operate. The private sector is still vibrant and it is expanding and it is reassured by stepping up the public sector outlay to the extent of 20 per cent and by making higher allocations in the priority areas, Aiming at the particular target group where the Seventh Plan reduces the percentage of persons below the poverty line from 37 to 26, the allocations which have been made are quite encouraging.

I would conclude by pointing out—though as I mentioned this last year also and I am repeating it—that you started with a very bold and correct approach, but at the same time there will be efforts to queer the pitch. For God's sake, play straight with a straight bat.

Thank you very much.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. K.L.N. Prasad.

SHRI K.L.N. PRASAD (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, considering the economic situation in the country and the commitments made, the Budget for this year appears to be a unique one. But small adjustments have to be made in the taxation and other concessions given. To criticise, to find fault in any area is perhaps the easiest thing to do, but to suggest alternatives to achieve the desired results or the targets is a difficult proposition. The job of the Finance Minister, therefore, is indeed a difficult task and is not a bed of roses. Viewing from this angle, the Finance Minister deserves appreciation and compliments.

First, I would like to read some of the important and vital highlights in the Budget. The allocations made for the anti-poverty programmes and IRDP programmes are really heartening. The amount of money provided, which amounts to an increase of 65 per cent and 91 per cent, is indeed a good allotment, and it only indicates the intentions of the Government and the seriousness with which the Government is trying to help the poorer sections of the society. The amounts earmarked for other sectors like power generation, irrigation, communications, transport, science and technology also are significant. While the allocations are quite good, what we will have to make sure is about the spending part of it. It is common knowledge that in our country today whatever development works are there, they are being executed by some middlemen. To what extent we are getting the full benefit of this spending is a matter which requires constant attention of the Government. Allocation is one thing and supervision of the spending is another thing. And we know in certain projects how much money is being wasted and how much money is being swindled by the so-called contractors and middlemen. And this is a very serious matter and Government would have to have a serious look into it and then see that every rupee spent on our projects derives the maximum benefit. And our Seventh Plan is a very ambitious one and if it is implemented properly, it goes a long way in realising the dreams of the nation and that of our young Prime Minister and his Government.

Sir, I would like to make a few suggestions with regard to some of the proposals made in the Budget. No doubt, there are several measures to encourage the development of industry. And the proposals are meant to encourage the new entrepreneurs to come into the active participation of industrial development. And it also helps modernisation and replacement of equipment in the present industry. It also gives scope to change to the fast-changing technologies in the industrial side. Sir, the depreciation suggested is a generous one. There

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are two types of depreciation—33 per cent and also 50 per cent. The details are probably yet to be worked out. This is a real good to the industrial development and industrial growth. But I would like to suggest one thing about some modifications brought in under Section 205 of the Companies Act, 1956. For some of these companies which are not making huge profits, but which are making reasonable profits, when they provide this kind of depreciation of of 33 per cent and 50 per cent wherever it is applicable, the remaining balance will not be sufficient for declaration of dividends by most of the companies. Therefore, while allowing the depreciation at these rates, the companies should be permitted to pay to the shareholders a reasonable dividend for tax purposes by allowing the normal depreciation which was followed earlier. Otherwise, after providing all this depreciation and other allowances, the appropriation will be inadeuqate for the purpose of declaring any dividends and this will retard to some extent the growth of the industry. In case of companies which are making good profits, this difficulty may not arise. But in most of the medium industries where this difficulty is likely to come, they should have a formula by which the shareholders also can get some dividend otherwise, the industrial growth will not continue. You may take the statistics in our country. As you are aware, Sir, in most of the public limited companies, the investment comes from smaller people, the salaried people, the middle-income group people. They are the people who buy shares. About 85 per cent or 90 per cent of the money comes from smaller people. Therefore, you make sure that they do get some dividend after these appropriations. No doubt, this will help such of the companies which are making good profits, to keep pace with modern technology and they will be in a position to modernise the equipments from time to time.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu) in the Chair]

Another aspect in this Budget is the investment allowance. Since the depreciation is increased to this extent, I do not mind. some cut in the investment allowance. but earlier, whatever investment allowauce was claimed, that money was useful to the compay for ploughing back into the business and the money came to the rescue of the company for working capital needs. But here the new proposal is to deposit 20 per cent of this money with IDBI. That means, money outgo will be there. But it is a very difficult situation. Most of the companies you are aware, are suffering for want of working capital funds. Banks. are not adequately giving this working capital and the companies are put to great difficulties. They are somehow meeting these requirements by borrowing from inter-corporate sectors and from other sources. In order to help this situation, I suggest that the condition to deposit with IDBI should be removed, at least in some cases, upto a particular amount, if not fully in all cases.

About direct taxes, it is really a boon to the salaried and fixed income groups. Taxation is very reasonable. We cannot ask for anything better.

Coming to gift tax and wealth tax proposals, they have been rationalised; but at the same time, I wonder why we should go on increasing the number of taxes and have a number of items under taxation. Income-tax is enough. Gift tax is getting about Rs. 11 crores only for the national 2.00 P M exchequer. Eleven crores is not a big amount for the nation. I need not spell out what amount of clerical and other work can be reduced by this. Now you are getting about Rs. 100—11, crores from Wealth-tax and Gift-tax.

Perhaps, the taxpayer will not mind paying more income-tax so that you can make up this Rs. 100—110 crores. Here, you should keep in mind the extent of harassment meted out to the assessees. Imagine the establishment and the amount of money spent on collecting this small amount of Rs. 100—150 crores what is the net amount which comes to the exchequer ? Therefore, I would like to suggest that these two taxes should be abolished.

Now, about corruption . We are trying to reduce it at all levels. No doubt, Government is making all efforts to eradicate corruption or to reduce it to the minimum. But to what extent, we have succeeded ? I do not think, we have succeeded much. Even in the case of normal Government work, no paper moves without greasing the hands of the people. This is the case in the States as well as in the Center. No paper moves. Specially, if you give more and more powers to the bureaucrats, you know what will happen. Now, the proposal is to give powers even to the Income-tax Inspectors to go to the houses of....

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH : I have already mentioned in the other House that we are reviewing this provision.

SHRI K.L.N. PRASAD : I am just mentioning this. This is creating a lot of harassment. .This will lead to a lot of harassment. I am glad, you are giving you are willing to give, this relief.

Sir, while appreciating the reofrms which have been brought about in the tax system, I would like to make one or two suggestions. Sir, Press is one thing which goes to the rural sector, to the nook and corner of this country. Eighty-five per cent of our people are living in the villages. Newspaper is the only medium by which the people will know what is haappening in the world. The cost of newsprint has been increased in the recent past by about 1500 to 1600 rupees per tonne. Another surprising thing is, imported newsprint costs less and indigenous newsprint costs more; the quality is also inferior. I do not know if our industry is incapable of producing good quality newsprint, incapable of managing its affairs properly and supply newsprint at a reasonable price. Should we really subsidise the newsprint in our country at the expense of the people, poor people, who purchase newspapers in the rural areas and elsewhere ? The cost of a daily newspaper is being increased from time to time. Even the regional language newspapers are facing a lot of difficulties. Not only by the increase in the cost of newsprint, but by the increase in wages as well. All costs are going up. Because of this, if you increase the selling price it will only mean more number of people will not be able to buy newspapers. An increase of cost of newsprint to this extent is not at all justifiable. About 60 per cent of the newsprint is supplied by the Indian mills. About 30 to 40 per cent is imported. Even this small quantity of import is not properly managed by STC. And this is not happening for the first time, it is happening for the last several years continuously. Sometimes it was said that the Minister of Finance has not released the funds, sometimes some other reasons are given and sometimes it is said that the availability of newsprint abroad is difficult. Tl is kind of things go on , This way, it is indirectly amounting to a sort of curb on the newspapers In a democracy people have a right to know what is happening around the world and at the cheapest possible price. In villages today everybody cannot afford a TV. They cannot afford other sources of information. So, newspaper is the important media that is playing a vital role in our country. I, therefore, suggest for the consideration of the hon. Finance Minister that the levy of customs duty which is about Rs. 525 should be waived. I am glad it has been

[Shri K. L. N. Prasad]
brought down from Rs. 850 to Rs. 525. I have no idea as to how much the Government can get as a total revenue out of this but then this should be completely waived in the interest of the poor readers in the country.

And for your information, the total newsprint consumption in the country itself can be equated with one or two newspapers in the United States. The total consumption of our newsprint in the country can be equated with 'New York Times' in the United States. Even this small quantity if you are unable to supply at a proper price there is something wrong somewhere and it has to be looked into. And the newsprint supplied by the Indian Mills, particularly by the Nepa mills, is of a horrible quality. I do not know why the Government should encourage such a thing. In other it is subsidising their inefficiency and incompetence at the cost of readers. So, I would request the Finance Minister to have a look into it and see that regular supplies are given to the newspapers and they are not put to a lot of harassment and hardship.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : New York Times gives so much of advertisement which you cannot conceive of.

SHRI K. L. N. PRASAD : You read my paper. Anyway, with advertisements also it is not sufficient to meet the cost of paper. You know the cost at which we sell the newspaper. If we sell at 80 paisa, the cost of newspaper itself amounts to 90 paise. Rest of the establishment cost, etc. has to be met through advertisements. Otherwise no paper can survive. That is the position, and slowly it is difficult for the newspapers to get advertisements because TV is taking away a lot of the commercial advertisements.

The other regressive aspect in the Union Bugdet, in my opinion is withdrawal of the tax benefit in respect of intercorporate dividend Why should the intercorporate be taxed once again? They were giving 60% set-off earlier. Now in this Budget it has been proposed that the entire dividend should be taxed. It was already taxed in one company. And again in this inter-corporate company why should it be taxed ? At least that 60% should be continued in the interest of industry.

SHRI VISHWANATH PARTAP SINGH : On this inter-corporate dividend, some of our undertakings like UTI and Life Insurance Corporation also have got some problem. So we will look into this aspect also this inter-corporate thing.

SHRI K.L.N. PRASAD : Very kind of you. This is important. In my opinion this world certainly slow down the pace of industrial growth. And it is also common knowledge that most of the industries groups in our country today have grown to the size of their present stature because of the available investment by existing companies. It is a well known fact that most of the captial intensive industires in the country have been the result of inter-corporate invsetment I therefore request the Finance Minister to reconsider this proposal.

Again, I would like to mention, what I have been mentioning on earlier occasions also--functioning of the banking sector in our country, which is of course receiving the best attention of our Government, to clean up this great mess that has been created in the banking sector. Along with rapid expansion of the banking network, there has been a steady deterioration in the banking services and efficiency. The Public accounts committee has submitted a detailed report regarding rampat corruption in the banking sector. In the 1982 there were about 2000 cases of fraud involving about 1915 crores of rupees. But according to some other statistics complied by the Department of Banking as a matter of fact, over 9000-10,000 cases

of fraud were detected in all these years involving about Rs. 150 crores of public money in the 28 public sector banks. In banking when you advance finance to various industries and traders there are bound to be some losses. I do not deny that fact. But that will have to be kept to the minimum. But here year after year we are hearing that more frauds are being committed in our country and abroad in our banks. No doubt the bank deposits are increasing. I think there are about Rs. 90,000 crores in the banking sector today out of which about 40% has to be invested in Government securities and others as per the regulations of the Reserve Bank of India and out of the balance, I would like to know how much money is involved in sticky bad and doubtful debts and how much of it can really be realised? Today the balance sheets of most of these banks are somehow being printed on art paper presenting a rosy picture but actually it is not that rosy. And what is the profit that the entire banking sector is making today? How much of it is bring transferred to General Reserve to meet any contingency later and what are the bad dept that are being written off every year. If you go into all this we are only aware of the detected frauds. What about the undetected frauds which are many many, many in thousands, not even in hundreds?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): How many more minutes woud you like to take ?

SHRI K. L. N. PRASAD : Another five, ten minutes.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : Five minutts.

SHRI K.L.N. PRASAD : Sir, in the banking sector today, the situation requires a constant watching on its functioning. I am not saying that the Finance Minister is not taking keen interest in it. He is taking and he is doing his best. In spite of that, things are not improving to the extent they should improve. I would like to bring it to his notice that for the last two years the banks are functioning with one chief executive, namely, the Chairman and two officers, one Reserve Bank representative and one Finance Minitry representative and perhaps one staff member who is taken as a Director. The policy of the Government is to consider eminent people from various sections of the society so that they would guide these banks properly and see that the credit facilities go to the right people and for productive purposes. But what is happening today? For the last two years, when the term of all these public Directors was over two years ago, the banks were functioning without any public Directors, I mean, Directors drawn from the public. That means that only with bureaucrats the banks are functioning and they are taking the decisions. All the business community, all the people who are dependent on the banks have to be at the mercy of these bureaucrats. Sir, to what extent can these bureaucrats understand the difficulties of the business people and the public who draw money from the banks? There are agriculturists, there are traders and industrialists. But these people are not aware of the difficulties faced by these sectors. They go on according to some norms given by the Reserve Bank of India and whether they are practicable or impracticable they are not bothered. That is the present situation. Unfortunately the Finance Minister is not here.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh) : You can wait. This is an important point. Let him come back.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : The other Minister is here.

SHRI K.L.N. PRASAD : The other Minister deals with Health

THE MINISTER OF HEALTH AND FAMILY WELFARE (SHRIMATI MOHSINA KIDWAI) : I am here, I am here.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA : You are there but you Madam are not the Finance Minister,

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu) : The Finance Minister looks after the finances of the nation and she looks after the health of the nation.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA : Not the financial health.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : You go on.

SHRI K.L.N. PRASAD : Let him come. What is the point in my just going on?

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : Mr. Prasad, please continue . . . (*Interruptions*) . . . The other Minister is there.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH (Punjab) : It will be conveyed to the Finance Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : The other Minister is there. She will take notes. Please continue.

SHRI K.L.N PRASAD : Anyway, I will repeat after he comes. On the banking aspect of it, I will again say something after he comes.

Sir, something about the public sector organisations. In the public sector we have invested about Rs. 40,000 crores. What is the total return we are getting? The total return we are getting is, I think, about 1 to 1.5 per cent on an average. Some companies may be paying a higher dividend. But on an average, if you take the income from the public sector, on Rs. 40,000 crores it is not more than Rs. 400 crores. This is a very sad situation. And the interest on the money borrowed by the Government, either internally or externally, is about 15 per cent.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : Please conclude now.

SHRI K.L.N. PRASAD : You are also not hearing What is the matter?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : It is time you concluded. You have to concise your points. (*Interruptions*) There are a number of speakers.

SHRI K.L.N. PRASAD : The public sector investment should yield a reasonable dividend. I do not know what the real reason is for the failure on the part of the public sector. You take steel, for instance. No steel factory in the public sector has reached the optimum level of production. But the Tata Steel Co. which is an old company with old machinery, is working with 110 per cent capacity. Why is the public sector not able to make a headway in the production of steel? Like this there are so many other sectors in which the public sector is lagging behind. That means there is management deficiency, and that deficiency will have to be fulfilled. (*Time bell rings*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : Please conclude.

SHRI K.L.N. PRASAD : If you give me some other time, I will speak after he comes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : Already you have made your speech.

SHRI K.L.N. PRASAD : If it is a question of drawing the attention of the Finance Minister, unless he is in the House, what is the point in my speaking?

SHRIMATI MOHSINA KIDWAI : I am here.

SHRI K.L.N. PRASAD : I do not want to trouble you.

SHRIMATI MOHSINA KIDWAI : It is pleasure hearing you.

SHRI K.L.N. PRASAD : Anyway, with these observations, I request the hon. Finance Minister to have an eye on the banking sector and see that the conditions do improve.

Another matter I would like to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister is this. As indicated earlier the facilities should be extended. And if there is any delay in the matter of transaction of the business of the banks, he should be informed.

I just want to bring to his notice one aspect. It will take only one minute. The Government is trying its best to get NRI funds into the country, that is, non-resident Indian's investments. There is one case in which an individual has sent about $300,000 to India. It was encashed for investment in some companies. A letter was written to the Reserve Bank of India for certain permissions. It is nearly three months. They have asked all kinds of information, and every information has been furnished. But nothing has come from the Reserve Bank. A number of times people have gone there, and the reply given to them by the officers is that parliament is in session and they are busy with Parliament work.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : Please conclude.

SHRI K.L. N. PRASAD With these observations, I support the Budget.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA ALIAS V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu) : The Budget for the financial year 1986-87 with an uncovered deficit of Rs. 4095 crores submitted by our hon. Finance Minister has commendable features to establish a welfare State. The Budget as an economic device with its financial resources is aimed at generating more power and lessening the burden on the weaker sections, increasing the employment opportunities of the people, developing the industries and removing impediments against the wheels of progress. The ideal of wiping every tear from every eye dreamed by Pandit Nehru has been honestly attempted by our hon. Finance Minister to be actualised. Even though the Anna DMK differs from the Centre on certain matters, subject to reservations, of those matters. I welcome this Budget wholeheartedly.

The Finance Minister is very particular about the removal of his unpopularity among the housewives. Therefore, in order to remove the unpopularity among the house-wives, he has proposed to raise the Standard Deduction from 25% to 30% of salary income groups with a ceiling of Rs. 10,000. Among the salaried income groups it is estimated that nearly 3·5 lakh tax-payers are going to be benefited by this measure. Hereafter, I expect that not only the house-wives, but their daughters-in-law will also appreciate the hon. Minister for this concession.

[Shri Abadi Aruna *alias* V. Arunachalam]

The increase of the basic exemption limit on Gift Tax from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 20,000 the ceiling of investment in Plant and machinery for small-scale industries from Rs. 20 lakhs to Rs. 35 lakhs, an increase in the interest on Provident Fund from 10·5 per cent to 12 per cent are all good gestures on the part of the Government.

The proposal of housing scheme for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the memory of our late Prime-Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at a cost of Rs. 125 crores is one of the major welfare programmes in this Budget. In this context, I would like to remind this House that the Government of Tamil Nadu has proposed to construct 30 lakh houses at the rate of five lakhs of houses every year for weaker sections, including the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Perhaps our Finance Minister might have derived that idea of massive housing scheme from our State. But, I honestly request the hon. Finance Minister to extend cooperation to our State by giving more money and aid to our Housing Schemes also.

Unlimited ambition of our Finance Minister for development of industries is reflected in the concessions shown, infrastructure changed and exemptions extended and rationale introduced. Of course, he may not satisfy all, but they are all in right directions on right policies.

The introduction on the modified value added tax (MODVAT) scheme is much helpful to the manufacturers to reduce the cost of the final product. No doubt it avoids the payment of duty on duty. The scheme is applied to 39 items specified in the Central Excise Tarrif Act, 1985. It is estimated that manufacturers are going to get benefit to the extent of Rs. 700 crores. After the introduction of this MODVAT scheme if there is no decreased in the cost of the final product and consequently in the price, it would be deemed that manufacturers will be exploiting the scheme and cheating the Government. Therefore, the paramount responsibility of the Government is to see that the benefit must reach the manufacturers as well as the consumers.

The increased allocation of the fund to antipoverty programmes such as NREP, RLEGP, minimum needs programme, revised 25-programme reveals that policies of the centre for development of rural India are realistic and fruitful. The outlay of NREP has been stepped up from Rs. 230 crores in the year 1985-86 to Rs. 445 in the year 1986-87. In the year 1986-87 there is an increase of 90 per cent. Similarly, there is an increase of 58 per cent in the allocation of funds for Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme and an increase of 51 per cent for IRDP. The outlay for rural development has been increased from Rs. 1,239 crores to Rs. 1,815 crores in the year 1986-87. I am pleased to say that the Government of Tamil Nadu has been successful in implementing all the anti- poverty programmes of the Centre. Our effective performance has been acknowledged and complimented by some of the Union Ministers when they came to our State. Unfortunately some of the Congress (I) leaders including the President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee (I) attributed our debacle in the recent local body elections to the non-implementation of antipoverty programmes, including the 20-point programme. Sir, the allegation is false baseless and politically motivated, If we disagree with any programme of the Centre we never hesitate to register our protest. But when we agree with the programme of the Centre, we are second to none in implementing these programmes with determination and dedication. Sir, the House is aware of the fact that how many States are diverting the funds meant for anti-poverty programmes to some other projects. But as far as our State is concerned, it has effectively implemented all the anti-poverty programmes.

Unfortunately our Finance Minister is not present in the House. However, I would request the Health Minister who is sitting in this House to correct their errors or correct the mischievous leader of their party in Tamil Nadu.

Sir, once again, I am pleased to extend our support to the Government fot its drive against the blackmarketeers.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : Some times 'mischivous' word ? Is objectionable. You should be polite and gentle ?

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM : It is unparliamentary word Do you have any parliamentary word ?

We are extending our support to the Government of India for its drive against the tax-evaders, smugglers and blackmarketeers. I specially appreciate the fairness and tenacity in this regard. The turgid growth of black money due to evasion and surreptitious violation of the tax law damaged tax structure and caused financial constraints to our country. Black money has a dark dictum in our administration. So the need of the hour is arresting the tax-evaders and unearthing of black money. I am very happy to note that our Finance Minister has geared up his machinery for raids and seizures. The raids and seizures have increased from 19,095 in 1984 to 21,655 in the year 1985. The total value of the seized goods in the year 1985 is estimated at Rs. 186.46 lakhs. It is a remarkable achievement. Moreover, it appears that the Government is not hesitating to arrest the owners of the big industrial houses. The trend must continue. The tempo must be maintained till we hear the voice of trumpet. There cannot be any relaxation, lapses and proclivity on the part of this Government till we are successful in curbing the black money. Owing to these effective measures, government has benefited in increasing collection of direct taxes to the extent of 36 per cent.

Our Finance Minister when he was in charge of the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh resigned from the highest office expressing his inability to control the activities of dacoities. Now he has declared a crusde against the smugglers, blackmarketeers and tax-evaders. We welcome these measures. We wish him all success in his crusading war against these evil elements. Let him be successful in his crusade. In the racial war, we support the Blacks, but in a financial war, we support the Whites. Thanks to these redical measures and anti-poverty programmes, rationalisation of the tax structure, increased allocation for the power sector and introduction of MODVAT, this budget is widely welcomed in this House and corridors, in farms and factories press and platforms and canteens and kitchens. The *Hindustan Times* in its editorial has stated:

> "Union Finance Minister Viswanath Pratap Singh must be congratualated on producing a budget which is fairly commendable."

The *Economic Times* says :

"It is a wise man's budget"

The *National Herald* has remarked brilliantly:

"It could as well be called a welfare budget. The *Indian Express*, the King of critics in pressdom, has aptly titled it "A good effort". I also join the press barons and praise our Finance Minister for his sincere effort to develop the country, as desired by our dynamic Prime Minister Thiru Rajiv Gandhi.

[Shri Aladi Aruna *Alias* N Arunachalam]

A person who honestly commends merits of the budget has every right to comment on the defects of the budget. Mere glorious generalities and glittering objectives of the budget will not be helpful to develop the nation. To achieve the objectives a pragmatic approach is quite necessary. Perhaps the glittering objectives may be helpful to mislead the public, to trap and disillusion. It seems that our Government is quite complacent over the production of 150 million tonnes of foodgrains. Our hon. Finance Minister has stated that we are self-sufficient in foodgrains. Sir, it is an incorrect assessment. I am not contradicting the figure of the hon. Minister, not am I denying the availability of foodgrains in the open market. There are adequate foodgrains available in the market, not due to any surplus in the production, but due to the scant purchasing power of the people in our country. Nearly 40 per cent of the people are living below the poverty-line. They are living with one-time meal every day. If they have enough purchasing power to purchase and consume food three times a day, there will be a stark food scarcity in India. Because 40 per cent of the people are starving with only one meal a day, you find a surplus in the market. Therefore, it is an illusion to think that we are self-sufficient in food.

Sir, in agriculture, still our method of cultivation, application of new technology, use of high-yielding varieties of seeds, are far from satisfactory. The availability of non-cereals has not improved. Rather it is declining. The production of pulses was 13.04 million tonnes in 1975-76. It has declined—after our great efforts and application of so many new methodologies—to 11.51 million tonnes in 1981-82. We have not yet reached the record of the year 1975-76. The per capita availability of pulses in the country has declined from 51.2 kilos to 41 kilos in the year 1984. In respect of groundnut, our production was 6.75 million tonnes in 1975-76. It has declined to 5.28 million tonnes in 1982-83. Then there was a slight improvement. But even then we have not reached the record of 1975-76.

Regarding the production of sugarcane, our position is regrettable. It was 189.51 million tonnes in 1982-83. Now it has declined to 173.5 million tonnes in 1984-85. Is there any reason, any justification for us to claim any credit for this state of affairs ? Sir, 367 million tonnes of foodgrains were produced last year in China in an area equivalent to 60 per cent of ours. In terms of actual growth rate, in the preceding 30 years, the growth rate in India in agriculture has been only 2.7 per cent.

Therefore, the target for the Seventh Plan of 4 per cent is highly ambitious, impracticable and utopian. It has been magnanimously admitted by our honourable Finance Minister with his shrewd pretence that the overall industrial growth will remain below our full potential. It is not a question of utilising the potentiality of the nation. More than that it is a question, the pivotal question, of utilising the investment, the installed capacity, the infrastructure facilities and improved quality.

In the transformation of the economic structure the public sector has a key role. It is envisaged and estimated, as metioned by Shri Pranab Mukherjee, that during the Seventh Plan the Public sector may be expected to help the Seventh Five Year Plan to the extent of Rs. 35000 crores. But if you see its performance and efficiency it is highly regrettable. The total loss of the public sector units has increased from Rs. 981 crores in the year 1982-83 to Rs. 1534.7 crores in the year 1983-84. Our Finance Minister skilfully mentioned in his Address that SAIL has earned profit. But he has mentioned only the expected profit, not the actual profit, that too not because

of any efficiency in performance but because of increase of prices of steel.

In the industrial sector the number of sick units is alarmingly increasing. In the year 1982 the number of sick units was 60,173. Now it has increased to 93,283 in 1984. The most painful factor is out of these 93,283 sick units it is found that 75,860 are not at all viable. Their outstandings—the outstanding dues of those non-viable units—amounted to Rs. 1249 crores. In other words, the banks are not able to recover the amounts to the extent of Rs. 1249 crores. They have no option but to write off these amounts.

We have to thank our Government for stepping up the outlay for the development of power sector to the extent of Rs. 2575 crores in the current year. I fear this huge amount is going to be utilised for meeting the losses rather than improving the power sector, because in addition to the transmission losses of power which is abnormal in our country compared to other countries, it is a disgrace that the plant load factor of a thermal station is just about 47 per cent. It was 57 per cent in 1975-76. This is the information from the All India Chamber of Commerce. In this Speech our Finance Minister has stated that the plant load factor has improved to 50.8. In fact, if we go through the Economic Survey of India National Survey the plant load factor is 50.1 per cent in the year 1984-85.

Then, another most painful thing is since the year 1979-80 the plant load factor is always below the national level in Assam, Bihar, Haryana, U.P., Orissa and West Bengal. It seems that the Government has so far not taken any constructive steps to improve the position. The cost of a megawatt is nearly Rs. 1.3 crores. If we examine the plant load factor and calculate the installed capacity in our country, then there will be a loss to the extent of Rs. 2000 crores per year. That is why I raised my doubt whether you are going to spend the Rs. 2500 crores for the development of the power sector or to meet the losses. It has been painfully mentioned by our economists that Indian productivity as a whole in the year 1983 was one-fifth of the Japanese productivity. India's output per worker is also one-fifth or one-eighth that of the other countries. Capacity utilisation also has sunk by ten per cent. It was 85 per cent in the 1970-71 and it has declined in the year 1983-84 to 75 per cent.

Industrial development, I have to mention here, in Tamil Nadu has been greatly affected after the year 1967 due to the partisan attitude of the Government at the Centre. Sir, not even a single new industry has been started in Tamil Nadu under the public sector by the Centre. This is the charge against this Government. We have been repeatedly asking the Government to set up a new industry. But still this Government is reluctant to open or start any new industry in Tamil Nadu.

Sir, regarding the expansion of the Salem Steel Plant, the Centre has not taken any constructive step. Sir, unlike the other steel plants in the North, the Salem Steel Plant is making remarkable progress in profits and production. The cumulative production of saleable steel has increased from 14,990 tonnes in the year 1984-85 to 20,018 tonnes in the current year. In spite of this development, the Centre still keeps the expansion scheme of the Salem Steel Plant in cold storage.

Sir, the metal produced by the Salem Steel Plant, it is confirmed, is more durable, more suitable, and less costly for manufacturing coins. But what are we doing ? We are importing coins from the other countries. ! Our Minister of State for Finance, Mr. Janardhan Poojari, said on the 7th of March, in reply

[Shri Aladi Aruna *Alias* V. Aruna-chalam]

to a question in the Lok Sabha, that we are importing coins worth Rs. 64.83 crores. But, at the same time, we are reluctant to utilise the metal available in Salem ! Therefore, I earnestly request the Government and also the Finance Minister to start a new unit at Salem itself for utilising the metal there for manufacturing coins.

Sir, a few projects have been under the consideration of the Government for 125 years ! The Sethusamudram Project is one among them. It was first initiated by Sir Robert Bristo in the year 1860 at a cost of Rs. 60 lakhs. Then, Sir, Lord Wellington, the then Governor of Madras, constituted a committee for consideration of the project and to raise the necessary funds in London. But, unfortunately, that constituted committee was not able to raise the required amount. At persent, all the ships, either coming from the West coast to the East coast or going from the East coast to the West coast, have to circumnavigate the Island of Sri Lanka. Sir, if we construct the Sethusamudram canal, there would be a saving of 342 of nautical miles. The Committee headed by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and the five-member Committee, headed by Shri K.H. Laxminarayan, have accepted the technical feasibility and economic viability of this project. Only in the emergency meeting of the Union Cabinet held in the year 1963, this project was disapproved and it was said that this is not economically viable. All the expert committees have approved this project and have accepted that this is technically viable and this is an economically viable project. Despite the repeated demands made not only by the Anna DMK Government, but also by the DMK Government and the Congress Government earlier since 1952, this has not been approved. We have been repeatedly asking this Government to include this project in the Five Year Plans and we have been showing all the evidence to prove the viability of this scheme. Even then, Sir, the Centre has not come forward to include this project in the Seventh Five Year Plan so far. Sir, our Chairman, when he was in charge of the Defence Ministry, while answering to a Calling Attention, assured that this project will be included in the Five Year Plan. His assurance has not been honoured; it has been thrown to the winds. Our hon. Chief Minister M.G.R., I understand, has written a letter to the Prime Minister explaining all these things and requesting him to include this project in the Seventh Five Year Plan. Sir, the cost of the scheme in the beginning was only Rs. 8.18 crores in 1957, then it increased to Rs. 21 crores in 1963, then to Rs. 37.4 crores in the year 1968, then to Rs. 190 crores in the year 1980, and then in the year 1983 the cost of the project was Rs. 208 crores. Even then, when you compare it with the huge amount, of our Seventh Five Year Plan this Rs. 208 crores is not a large amount. But more than that, apart from the sea way transportation from the security point of view the project is more important, It has been accepted by the Navy. Stit, the Centre has not come forward to implement this project but it is clearing the Ganga. I know what is going on there. We are not against that project. But our simple plea is that we are begging, since 1952—it was initiated in 1860—still the Government is turning deaf ear. That is why I request the Government to include the project without any delay in the Seventh Five Year Plan and allot the necessary amount for this project. (*Time bell rings*). Sir, even if in spite of repeated demands this Government fails to include this project in the Seventh Five Year Plan, I will have to remind this House that the people of Tamil Nadu will launch a direct action against this Government for its discriminatory policy as the Assamese

people fought against this Government regarding the oil refinery or the Anna DMK demonstrated for expansion of the Tuticorin harbour scheme. So I hope that the Government would consider the request of our Chief Minister to include this project in the Seventh Five Year Plan.

With these words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH (Gujarat) : Sir, I rise to support the Budget proposals presented by the hon. Finance Minister in this House. In fact, the proposals are so wide ranging and so diverse that it is difficult to assess their individual merits and drawbacks, unless of course I am allotted an hour or so to find out where there are merits and where there are drawbacks in the Budget proposals.

Sir, it was said by one of our very prominent economists that the Finance Minister has to play in a limited overs match, like one-day international cricket match, because on the one hand there are constraints on resources, on the other, there is developmental work which is awaiting. Sir, everyone knows that there is a severe shortage of resources for Planoutlays, particularly because of the public sector's failure to contribute an estimated share of 53 per cent of the Central outlay. The Finance Minister has actually increased the size of the Plan for 1986-87 from Rs. 22,000 crores to Rs. 30,000 crores. However, at the present prices, the current equivalent of Rs. 18,000 crores indicated earlier in the long-term fiscal policy will come to the same amount, roughly about Rs. 22,000 crores. Therefore, I do not see that this has made any material difference.

Sir, the Finance Minister very recently faced a very piquant situation on the bitter controversy over the recent hike in administered prices. Some even argued that Plan outlays must be pruned so that severe Budget burdens on the common man can be avoided. But I am happy that the Finance Minister has taken a hard decision. Sir, I know that the uncovered deficit of over Rs. 3,600 crores cannot be regarded as meagre especially after the current year's huge Budget deficit of over Rs. 4,000 crores. Sir, when the economy is under heavy strain, deficit financing can be harmful, and I remember the other day, the hon. Member, Mr. Gurupadaswamye, was emphasising this point that, deficit financing can be harmful when the country is facing severe economic strain.

Sir, I would also like to congratulate the Finance Minister for introducing a new scheme with the introduction of MODVAT. Sir, this was the main proposal in his long-term fiscal policy. It has been hailed by the trade and the industry alike. But, as my earlier speaker, Mr. Alladi Aruna pointed out, I do not know whether this is going to benefit the consumer. And there is some modification which is being awaited with the introduction of MODVAT. Sir, the other major proposals in the Budget are concessions for small-scale industries, incentives for greater production of edible oils, measures for helping export and export production. But these measures need to be continuously monitored to determine whether they serve the purpose or not. Sir, the revision of Customs Duties is to be welcomed. And this is consistant with the Government's long-term fiscal policy. In the field of direct taxation, the Finance Minister has given relief to salaried income-tax payers by way of a higher reduction. There is also a timely measure to help the self-employed persons through allowances for medical expenses. The gift tax exemption has been raised though a flat rate seems inappropriate and somewhat high for low-valued gifts. And this needs

[Shri Raoof Valiullah]

reconsideration. Sir, it is surprising why the abolition of companies surtax was postponed because it was a firm assurance given by the Government. And I would request the hon. Finance Minister to reconsider this while replying to the Debate. Sir, the increase in the rate of interest of the General Provident Fund and Public Provident Fund from 10.5 per cent to 12 per cent is a welcome step, and to permit this Fund to be invested upto 85 percent in special deposits with the Government will go a long way in mopping up the required resources. Sir, by not lowering the income tax rate, the Finance Minister has disappointed quite a few because, as I see it, the tax relief upto Rs. 18,000 at present is equivalent to tax relief of Rs. 5,000 in 1971 according to the present price index. Therefore, what was due and what was given in 1971 has been given in 1986 and I would request the Finance Minister to raise this exemption limit.

3 PM

The most significant feature of the Budget is earmarking of higher outlay for anti-poverty programmes and creation of a fund for the small-scale sector. The Budget has also a social thrust in that while it increased the excise duty on the air-conditioners, it expanded and extended the social security schemes for the weaker sections. The Finance Minister has thus tried to give some relief to persons in all walks of life.

I would like to mention here that the section most aggrieved by the Budget is the press as the proposals continue with all the major financial constraints that were levied on the press in the past. There is ten per cent increase of duty on imported capital goods and excise duty on imported newsprint at Rs. 550 per metric tonne. The Seventh Plan envisages an outlay of Rs. 1400 crores for T.V. and radios. The Finance Minister could have given another relief of Rs. 10 crores by abolishing excise duty on printing machines and equipments and spare parts, which is 200 per cent in some cases, and I think that part of the criticism of the Budget by the press is justified on this count that you have not given any relief to the press.

Sir, while rationalising excise duty structure, the Finance Minister probably has missed one important factor and that is, levying of import duty on components that go into the machinery and are several times higher than the rate of duty on the complete machines. For example, imported components of machine tools, attract an excise duty of 81.5 per cent to 177.81 per cent and the complete machines tool attracts an excise duty of only 35 per cent. This needs to be looked into and I would request the hon. Minister that if there is any anomaly, this may be removed.

Sir, the setting up of tax courts for speedy disposal of tax cases has been widely welcomed by the tax-payers of this country. Massive increase in expenditure on develop-

[Shri Raoof Valiullahsllah]

ment of rural India, on power, education and housing for the poor, has been regarded as the right step in the right direction. I am afraid I wanted to mention about some cri icism levelled by my leftist friends; unfortunately none of them is present. I wanted to agree with some of them and for that, the other day, Professor Nirmal Chatterjee mentioed as to why this huge deficit financing has no impact on inflation. I agree. I want to know what is the secret of this huge budgetary deficit of this year not producing inflation. At the right moment, the hon. Finance Minister has also entered the House. Sir, according to me, the impact has been moderated by massive imports. As a result, foreign exchange reserves were eroded to the tune of Rs. 450 crores as against accretion of Rs. 1200 crores last year for the same period. This means, a total loss of Rs. 1,650 crores in foreign exchange reserves. Sir, I am also disturbed at the proposal of lowering the custom duty of 65 per cent to 40 percent *ad valorem* in regard to project imports in general and to provide for a lower rate of 25 per cent in the case of imports for power projects and a total exemption from duty in the case of equipment for fertiliser projects. Sir, I would like to ask the hon. Finance Minister, will it not lead to a situation where it will hit hard the indigenous capital goods industry? Already, the indigenous industry is losing ground to imports. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to look into this. I would cite one recent example to the Finance Minister. Recently, Maruti preferred a Japanese company to HMT for purchase of assembly lines. In the same way, in the electronics industry, there is hardly any progress towards indigenisation and the import policy and custom duty have been so tailored that screw-driver industry is flourishing. I would like to give the example of television sets available in our country. When you open the sets and you see the kits, you find that either they are manufactured in Japan or in Korea or in Taiwan.

Sir, another disturbing feature in the economy is the big expansion in passenger car production and civil aviation. These are among the important reasons for the petroleum consumption increasing by 8 per cent. per annum as against the Seventh Plan target of 6 per cent. In the same way, the Seventh Plan estimate is that civil aviation traffic will increase by 8 per cent. But it is increasing at the rate of 12 per cent. There are now, as one person put it 78 direct flights between Delhi and Bombay. The Seventh Plan stipulates that Vayudoot flights would connect only 42 towns. Now, as my friend, the Minister of Civil Aviation, was telling me the other day, they are now planning to connect 172 towns. Now, there is a Vayudoot flight between Delhi and Hissar and between Madras and Pondicherry, where beautiful metal roads exist between the two cities. (*Time bell rings*). Sir, please bear with me for sometime. Now, the Government is thinking of starting air taxis between Santa

[Shri Raoof Valiullah]

Cruz and Nariman Point. Of course, a helicopter corporation is in the offing. I know, this is all good for the development of the country. But should not more allocation be made to the railways by which our teeming millions travel? Majority of our people travel by rail day in and day out. Take, for example, the availability of wagons. There is a pile of fertilisers and salt lying in the Saurashtra region in Gujarat. For want of wagons, the salt and fertilisers cannot be moved to the centres where they are most needed. In fact, in U.P. and Bihar, the price of salt has gone up, because of this. Should not more funds be allocated to the railways and such kind of industries with which the needs of the common people are connected?

Sir, another thing which I would like to point out is, there is a thinking in some quarters of the Government that the food subsidy which is eating away Rs. 1,650 crores every year be done away with, and the procurement system dismantled. Here, I would like to caution the Government that it will ruin the small farmers in a short time and the price of foodgrains will soar high. I think, a time will come when the anti-poverty programmes' effect will be neutralised by the disbandment of the procurement system. I would plead with the Government to refrain from taking such a drastic action.

Sir, the Finance Minister has done well to help the poor. Take, for instance, the exemption of kerosene from excise duty. But at the same time, I would like to bring to his notice a small thing because the industry is very prominent in Gujarat. Sir, by leaving excise duty on all types of leather-cloth, the Finance Minister has also taxed the poor. Till now there was an excise duty of 35% on the price of leather-cloth, whatever was the quality, so that the excise duty was less on leather-cloth of cheaper variety and more on the costlier variety. Leather-cloth is available in Gujarat from Rs. 8 to Rs. 120 per running meter. The leather-cloth priced at Rs. 8 per sq. meter attracted a duty of only Rs. 2.80—i.e. 35% duty imposed earlier. But henceforth the leathercloth of Rs. 8 per meter will attract a duty of Rs. 8. That means hundred per cent. The costlier leather cloth will now attract a duty of Rs. 10. That means if the leather cloth costs Rs. 40, it will attract a duty of Rs. 10 i.e. 25%. So it has decreased from the earlier 35% to 25%. So the cheaper leather cloth will attract a 100% duty whereas the costlier one will attract a duty of 25%. Sir, this is not fair and I would like the hon. Finance Minister to look into this. As you know, the poor man buys cheaper variety of leather-cloth and the affluent section buys the costlier leather-cloth. The cheaper variety is used for cycle and rickshaw seat covers, school bags, cheap variety of chappals and upholstery and all kinds of things.

Similarly, the edible oil imports should be linked with deoiled cakes' export. Thus it will save valuable foreign exchange. At the same time we must increase the export of oil cakes. The excise duty of Rs. 1,500 per tonne on solvent extracted groundnut oil and rapeseed oil should be minimised because there are 54 such solvent extraction plants only in Saurashtra and this edible oil, e.g. groundnut oil, is consumed by the poorer sections also and bythe middle

class in large quantity in Gujarat. A further lowering of excise duty will also help the industry to extract more edible oil from oil cakes and would also help the consumer because this edible oil, namely the groundnut oil, is a vital ingredient in his daily food.

The Plan allocation for anti-poverty programme has gone up from Rs. 1,293 crores in 1985-86 to Rs. 1,851 crores in 1986-87. This is a 65% jump which is very creditable indeed for a direct attack on poverty. The IRDP, NREP, RLEGP etc. programmes, according to the Finance Minister's Budget speech, are the best hopes for higher incomes and better living conditions. There can be no two opinions about that. In addition there is the Indira Avas Yojna for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and loan scheme for the urban poor, accident insurance in aid of municipal sweepers and railway porters, rural or urban. The poor have thus received the maximum rise in next year's Plan allocation.

There is widespread unanimity among academics and government officials that howsoever well conceived or designed a programme is, its delivery to the most needy and deserving target group remains the weakest link in the chain. Special poverty alleviation programmes have been with us for over 15 years and the Comptroller and Auditor General has lamented over their performance reports. There has been a talk of involving voluntary agencies in the implementation of these programmes. A committee of officials headed by the Cabinet Secretary, Shri P.K. Kaul, was set up more than three months back to identify avoidable activities and wasteful expenditure that have diluted the beneficial results of IRDP, the largest of our anti-poverty programmes. One hopes that the report will be submitted without undue delay and the Government will evolve a coherent plan of action which will ensure that at least 60 per cent of the money is well spent, that is, double of what it is at present. It is a fact that only 30 per cent of the money that is spent under IRDP and RLEG scheme goes to the beneficiaries and that is why the Government thought it fit to appoint the high-powered committee under the Cabinet Secretary.

Sir, even last year in my budget speech I had mentioned that there was no ameliorative shceme for the benefit of the urban poor, and I am very happy that this year the hon. Finance Minister has framed an economic scheme of bank loans with Government subsidy for the urban poor, mainly the metropolitan poor, because even the scheme for the educated unemployed is not meant for cities of more than ten lakhs of population. So this is indeed a very very good step taken by the Government and I would only appeal to the hon. Finance Minister that the Reserve Bank of India should come out and finalize the guidelines in this regard immediately and he must implement the scheme with effect from 1st April 1986.

Sir, at this juncture I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that no serious efforts are made to provide employment or gainful occupation to women despite several anti-poverty programmes being in operation. Sir, if stray figures as reported in some newspapers are correct, hardly four to five per cent of women get loans and subsidy under these schemes and I would therefore suggest that the Government should come out with an exclusive scheme of bank loans and subsidy for financing women who form 50 per cent of the population of this country. The Finance Minister in this case need not wait for the next year's budget and something must be done for the women who really seek gainful employment and so, some kind of bank assistance scheme should be formulated.

[Shri Raoof Valiullah]

Sir, I am not very sure and so I would like the hon. Finance Minister to clarify one point. The tax benefit to companies investing in Units has also been withdrawn. It is estimated that Rs. 900 crores have been invested in the UTI by these companies.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I have mentioned it earlier that we will be looking into this.

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH : Thank you, Sir. If you will be looking into this, there is one more thing that I will point out so that you can look into that also. You have given sweeping powers to the ITOs and I would urge you to review the proposals.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH : I am in agreement with the honourable speaker. I have mentioned it in the Lok Sabha and in this House also that we will review it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : Please conclude.

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH : I will conclude by mentioning just one more point, and if he agrees to that, I will have no more to say. The hon. Finance Minister has recently invited suggestions on how to carry on with the tax reforms. In this connection I would like to suggest that Sections 35, 80G, 11(1) and 11(2) which deal with donation to charitable institutions for scientific purposes, art and culture need a review and I would request the hon. Finance Minister to look into this also. Just as he said about the other two points that they would be looked into, I again request the hon. Finance Minister to see that this also is looked into.

Thank you very much.

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI (Rajasthan) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I stand up to support the Budget proposals, and, therefore, I submit shat I welcome wholeheartedly the allotment of amount given to the Rajasthan Canal, the Kota Thermal Power Station and desert development area. We are very happy that the Government of India and the Finance Minister have a soft corner for Rajasthan. Therefore, we express our gratitude to him.

Also, Sir, about the Budget proposals in general I welcome the anti-poverty programme which is not only a great slogan but it is an article of faith with us. Therefore, we wholeheartedly support this proposal of the Government in the Budget that the anti-poverty programme should have a very sharp stance for us. Therefore, we should chalk out a strategy in which the lowest of the low persons get the advantage of it.

The other programme which my friends have mentioned is about the Indira Gandhi Housing Programme. We also welcome this. For the first time the Government has decided for a massive housing programme for the rural poor people, especially the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, it deserves our all-round support.

The other points which I wish to welcome are the relief which has been given to salaried persons and the increase in the interest rate for the provident fund. Therefore Sir, we welcome the relief given to those persons who have limited income or salaried income.

We also welcome Sir, the relief given to self-occupied house-owners. And the deductions allowed from income on account of medical treatment and medical insurance are also good signs.

We also support the facilities provided for the small-scale industries, and we hope that it will increase ndustrialisation and also provide employment to unemployed technocrats.

But, at the same time, Sir, I would like to express my fear about instalment budgeting. The increase in the prices by administrative orders has disturbed us very much. It has disturbed the whole country, and the middle class and the lower-middle class have been affected. We are happy that subsequently the Government decided to give some relief, and, therefore, we welcome that relief. But this policy of budgeting in instalments is bad management of the economy. Therefore, I submit that at least for the future these actics or this policy should not be adopted.

More so, in the same way, I am very much afraid of the amount of deficit in the Budget. Last year also there was a great deficit, and it was increased later on. We find that about Rs. 1500 crores of Rs. 1600 crores have been increased by these administrative orders. If it was not so, then, the deficit would have been up to Rs. 6,000 crores. Therefore, my submission is that this policy of deficit financing should be adopted to the minimum. Even in the First Five-Year Plan when the deficit was only of a few hundred crores, it was discouraged even at that time. But my submission is that in a developing economy you cannot altogether do away with deficit-financing strategy. But at the same time it should be adopted to the minimum. this reflect that the Budget has inflationary potentiality. Due to hge deficit and increase in unproductive expenditure, the prices are bound to increase. Government should take note of it so that at least further increase of prices during the current year is stopped.

The other worry for us is the balance of payments position. Fortunately, nurses from Kerla going abroad or the labour going abroad have increased our foreign exchange earnings, but this is not a permanent feature, because unemployment tendencies are growing there also. Therefore, in time to come we will not have that potentiality of employment in foreign countries. As such real improvement in balance of payments should be made. Our first pricrity should be to remove the balance of payments disequilibrium. There must be an export-oriented policy. It should not be that here and there some incentives are given. That really does not create an export-oriented policy. We must chalk out a held policy to improve our balance of payments.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY : There is a wise saying by the Roman philospher, Seneka, long ago. He said : 'economy is a great source of revenue' and every Finance Minister of any country who wants to direct the resources to good ends, should remember this saying.

My friend, Shri V. P. Singh is an honest man, but he is not a wise man.

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH: I hope it is not the reverse here on this side.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY : I wish him to behave like a honey-bee, not like a bull in a China shop. The most important element in the Budget is proper housekeeping. In other words he should live within limits and within means. He should not live beyond limits and beyond means. Discipline is the hallmark of a good housewife.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH : Sir, I am tempted to quote the laying which I used last year : "One who lives within his means suffers from lack of imagination".

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY : I would rather forgo that extravagant imagination and confina myself within my wise limits. I don,t want wild imaginations.

One of the serious drawbacks in our economy is the recurring deficit in the revenue Budget. That has been pointed out by my friend, Pranab Mukherjee. Unforunately it was Pranab Mukherjee who broke this healthy tradition. It was in the year 1979-80, Sir, for the first time the revenue budget showed a deficit. Since then for the last six or seven years there has been a recurring deficitin the revenue budget. In the year 1979-80, Sir, the deficit of revenue was Rs. 694 crorers. In 1984-85 it rose to Rs. 3497 crores. In 1985-86 the revised estimate of deficit on revenue account is Rs. 6446 corores. In 1986-87 it is estimated at Rs. 7308 corores. It means there has been an increase of more than ten times in the revenue deficit since 1979-80. This also means the disbursements under revenue account in 1985-86 have exceeded receipts by 24 per cent. In the year 1986-87 it is expected to exceed 25 per cent.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK) In the Chair]

Therefore, as I said in the beginning, we should live within means and within limits. But we are going beyond this.

The overall budget deficit is Rs. Rs. 4490 corores in 1985-86. and Rs. 3650 crores in 1986-87. Together, Sir, in two years it is more than Rs. 8,000 crores, Sir, at this rate the deficit financing will exceed Rs. 14,000 crores in the Seventh Plan with all its consequences.

I will give you another figure about money supply. Money supply has increased from March end of 1985 to December, 1985 by 51/2 per cent and for the whole year it would be near about 8 per cent. Sir, in 1986-87 the money supply may increase by 13 per cent. The Indian rupee as a result of this deficit financing and inflation is fast loosing its value. In the last five years Indian rupee has been devalued by as much as 39.06 per cent in relation U.S. dollar. The devaluation of Indian rupees has been even higher by about 42.78 per cent in relation to Japanese yen during the five year period. Foreign exchange experts say that the value of the rupee will go down further. The main reason for this decline is due to continuous inflation in the economy, I need not tell.

Sir, this year the Centre has imposed addtional taxes of Rs. 488 crores in the budget proposals, out of which the States will get only Rs 43 crores. The position becomes still worse if one considers the price increases announced by the Government on the eve of the budget for petroleum products, fertilisers, coal, etc., which are expected to bring about Rs. 2000 crores additional revenue which the Centre has raised, the States will get only Rs. 43 crores. This is perhaps, an all time low share give to the States, The Finance Minister in para 56 of his speech has said that there has been a massive increase of Rs. 7542 crores in Centre's transfers to the States and Union Territories in the current year as compared to 1984-85. This is somewhat misleading. There is no point is comparing the transfer with 1984-85 figures. The relevant thing would be to compare what he is proposing this year with the revised figures of 1985-86. But you will be surprised, in fact astonished, to find that the provision for transfer of resources to the States and Union Territories in 1986-87 is less than the revised figures for 1985-86 by a much as Rs. 1,550 crores I have has taken these figures from "The Budget At a Glance" which has been supplied by the Finance Minister.

In para 58 of his speech, which deals with the elimination of rural poverty, the Finance Minister again gives the impression as if the allocation for various rural schemes has

been substatially increased. I contest tthis claim. He says that for the National Rural Employment Programme, next year's allocation is 93 per cent more, that for the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee, Programme it is 58 per cent more and that for the Integrated Rural Development and other related programmes, it is 51 per cent more. But these percentage are again misleading because they are related to the 1985-86 revised figures.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH : Comparison is always done between budget figures and budget figures. The revised figures of last year should be compared with the revised figures of this year.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY : No. I would like you to do good house-keeping. Don't mislead us and detract us. If you see page 8 of the same document. "The Budget At a Glance", my point would be clear.

Another point in this respect which I want to make is that even though the financial targets are increased substantially, the physical targets have been increased very modestly. For example, for the National Rural Employment Programme, the financial target has increased by 93 per cent. The Physical target has increased by 18.57 per cent. For the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme, the financial target has increased by 58 per cent. The physical target has increased by 26.3 per cent. For the Integrated Rural Development Progrmme, the financial target has increased by 51.25 per cent. The physical target has increased by 30.7 per cent. I would like to know from the Finance Minister why the physical targets are kept so low ? Is it because the cost has gone up so much ? Or is it that in 1985-86 our achievements were much less than the targets ?

The Finance Minister says that the collections from major taxes have increased by 22 per cent over the previous year. In the case of personal income-tax the increase is 36 per cent. My friend, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, referred to this aspect also. He attributes this increase to his strategy of reasonable rates, simple procedures and strong enforcement of tax laws. This is only patly true, because while the collection of personal tax has increased by 36 per cent, the collection or corporation tax has increased by 2.16 per cent only. Though the corporation tax rates were also reduced and their procedures simplified and there was strong enforcement of laws, the results were not encouraging. It cannot be said, therefore, that the additional collections is solely due to the stragtegy of the Finance Minister. This is my contention. Similarly, though substantial concessions were given in wealth-tax, the increase is only 5.7 per cent. In my view, the major factor is the normal growth, not his strategy. Even the collection of customs duty has increased by 13.18 per cent over the budgeted figures. If you reckon the overall position of the net tax revenue to the Central Government, that is, including excise and customs, the increase is less than 9 per cent. This is the position.

I am coming to another aspect. In para 10 of his Speech the Finance Minister says : "Considerable success has already been achieved in curbing the growth of black money and Government would spare no efforts to root out this evil." This is a very encouraging statement. I would like to know on what basis this statement is made. What is the data with the Finance Minister which enabled him to come to this conclusion ? I would like him to throw some light on this.

[Shri M.S. Gurupadaswamy]

The non-Plan expenditure is continuously rising. Every Finance Minister has expressed his desire to reduce this and yet find that under each head this expenditure is increasing. In the Budget of 1986-87 this is estimated to be Rs. 31,867 crores against Rs. 27,548 crores in the last Budget, that is, an increase of Rs. 4,319 crores. In the last five years the non-developmental expenditure also of the Government, excluding the Defence expenditure, has gone up from 8,500 crores in 1980 to Rs. 20,500 crores. While it is true that the interest charges cannot be reduced, I wonder whether the expenditure under the other heads could not be reduced. But I wish to caution him against the suggestion made by my friend, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, that no slashing down of subsidies that you are giving now to the various sections of the community. Keeping that in view I would like this thing to be borne in mind.

While answering the public criticism when pertroleum prices were raised, the Finance Minister and also the Prime Minister justified it by saying that there were only two alternatives : either to reduce the size of the Plan, that is, to reduce the developmental tempo, or to raise more resources either by way of taxation or by increasing the administered prices. Since the taxes have already reached the saturation point the only source left to save the Plan was by increasing the administered prices. In my view, and I would say that with a sense of responsibility, there is a third alternative and that is, economising in our spending, by eliminating corruption, leakage, wastage, and inefficiency in our administation, particularly of the Plan projects. I do not make much distinction between Plan and non-Plan expenditure because corruption, leakage, wastage, etc. is common to both. I have got a figure here. The other day, on he 6th of this month, the Minister for Plan Implementation gave information about the cost of delay in various projects. He gave an example of 23 projects. He said there has been a delay of a few months up to seven years. As a result of this, in the 23 projects from the original level of Rs. 6,791 crores now the increase would be round about Rs. 19,000 crores, or to be exact, Rs. 18,890 crores, because of the delay in implementing the 23 projects which he had named. This amounted to an increase of 178 per cent. This we should avoid. The other day the Prime Minister was criticising the Opposition by referring to the all-India *bundh*, saying the nation has lost about Rs. 400 crores. So, you must bear this in mind. I regret to say that there has been very little, if any, effective attention paid in this direction in the economy. If you look at the list of projects, you will find that the costs of several projects have escalated many times over the original estimate merely because of the indecision and the delay in execution. I have already given one example. I may tell you that the Vizag Steel Plant and some power projects in the North-Eastern areas are typical examples. Even at present the contract for the HBJ pipeline is hanging fire—we raised the issue the other day in this House, you are aware, Sir—and by the time it is finalised and executed, the cost would have gone up several times apart from the loss in production which the country would suffer, particularly of fertilizers.

Sir, the Seventh Plan visualises that 53 per cent of the Central Plan outlays will be met from the resources from the public sector enterprises and 47 per cent of the Central Plan would be financed through the budgetary resources. My friend, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, also referred to it this morning. This shows our heavy leaning on the public sector enterprises. The Finance Minister says that these units provide suitable evidence to

show that the public sector can perform as wall as the best given the right set of circumstances. These are his words. May I know who will give them the right set of circumstances and why is it not being given ? The public sector has been in existence for the last three decades now and still it has not been given the right set of circumstances. The compulsions are too strong to deny this set of circumstances to our public enterprises. Recently, Sir, I had an occasion to study a survey of the public sector enterprises for 1984-85 produced by the Bureau of Public Enterprises and, in that, I was surprised to find that out of the total profits before tax of Rs. 2,119 crores, the operational profit is Rs. 696.38 crores only and the non-operational income is Rs. 1,522.62 crores. This, I am sure, would appear very strange. I would, therefore, request the honourable Finance Minister to kindly enlighten us as to what this non-operational income relates to.

The second point that I want to make is that during the year 1984-85, out of 207 enterprises with a public investment of more than Rs. 42,800 crores, only 124 enterprises have generated internal resources amounting to Rs. 3,554 crores. The net internal resources generated during the entire Sixth Five Year Plan was Rs. 11,653 crores against which the the expectation of the Finance Minister is to have Rs. 51,000 crores for the Seventh Plan, that is, 53 per cent of the Central Plan. This has been given in the note. But it is significant that in the first two years, Sir, the contribution of the public sector enterprises has been 34 and 39 per cent in 1984-85 and 1985-86 respectively against the 53 per cent as envisaged in the Plan. This is not very encouraging. A very serious effort is needed on the part of the Government as a whole to make the public sector undertakings work more efficiently and generate the required surplus.

Sir, the Minister says that during the first ten months of the current year, the performance of the National Thermal Power Corporation has been very encouraging. The plant load factor attained by these stations is 67.9 per cent as against the national average of 51.3 per cent. This shows that our power stations and our people are capable of attaining much higher plant load factor provided they are run properly and efficiently. Experts have calculated that a one-per-cent increase in capcity utilisation in our power plants would save about five hundred crores of rupees. Or 1 per cent saving in the transmission loss would result in saving Rs. 450 crores. This shows that with a little improvement in efficiency, we can save Rs. 1000 crores annually. In view of this, I would like to know from the Government what exact plans they have for putting these power stations in order. And by this I do not mean only power stations controlled by the Central Government but also those controlled by State Electricity Boards.

May I say a word about our balance of payments position ? This is naturally a matter of great concern because in spite of our best efforts our experts are not picking up. In the Sixth Plan the trade deficit is Rs. 5000 crores annually. In 1986-87, Sir, it may be about Rs. 9000 crores. Our share in the world exports in 1983 was only 46 per cent, that is, less than half per cent. This is because our prices are high, our quality is uneven and our deliveries are irregular. Our prices are high because our cost of production is high. The cost-output ratio is very high in this country. It is increasing. Though it has been realised that our economy has become high cost economy and yet not only precious little has been done to curb this tendency but actually under pressure of revenue needs they have imposed imposts which had the effect of aggravating the cost further. The increase in the cost of petroleum products, coal, steel, transport, etc. are the instances in point. They all add to the cost of production.

[Shri M.S. Gurupadaswamy]

Before I part with the subject of balance of payments position, I must say that it was both surprising and disappointing to find that during 1985-86, that is, current year, our need to import crude was more than double as compared to 1984-85 that is, 14.7 million tonnes as against 7.2 million tonnes. Why was this allowed to happen ? Could we not take timely action to check this ?

In para 99 of his speech the Finance Minister is taking power for a pre-emptive right to purchase properties for sale in the market at the price agreed to by the transferor. He said that in the beginning this provision will apply to property valued at Rs. 10 lakhs and above located in metropolitan cities. But clause 34 of the Finance Bill provides for the taking over of the properties valued at Rs. 5 lakhs and over. Why this contradiction ?

In the Finance Bill the Finance Minister has taken power to impose excise duty on molases up to Rs. 500 per tonne. The effective rate of duty at present on this item is Rs. 50 only. From Rs. 50 to Rs. 500 is a big jump. And if the Finance Minister can increase this duty up to Rs. 500 only by notification, then to that extent the power and authority of Parliament is reduced. You know the case of administered prices on the eve of the Budget. This power may not be exercised at all or may be exercised after several years without any reference to Parliament. This is not a very satisfactory position, Sir.

I now come to my last point, that is MODVAT. I must confess frankly that I have not been able to comprehend the full implication and the *modus operandi* of MODVAT While on the one hand it is said that the effect of this scheme will result in considerable reduction in the cost of final product as it avoids the payment of duty on earlier duties paid it says at the same time that the manufacturers of the final product will be able to get refund of all the duties paid on the components at the earlier stages. If that is so, then the refund amount would be substantial and the revenue will be reduced substantially. If, on the other hand, MODVAT avoids only the payment of duties on earlier duties, then how can the full amount of duty be refunded ?

Now, Sir, a few bouquets—I have criticised till now—to the Finance Minister. He deserves congratulation, Sir, for his promise to present a policy paper on administered prices, and for the formulation of a long-term price policy for agricultural products, and then for increasing the interest on Public Provident Fund—this was a reform long over-due—and also for accepting the Chakravarty Committee's recommendations..

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, in the end, he finds wisdom.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I find little light after darkness. I am pointing out in the end the little light you have shown.

Sir, he deserves congratulations also for accepting the Chakravarty Committee's recommendations that the Budget deficit should include changes in the entire RBI credit to the Government including changes in the RBI holding of long-dated securities. In my view, the distinction so far made between the Treasury Bills and the RBI's long-dated securities was unrealistic. It gave an incomplete picture of the real deficit which the Government covers by printing extra notes. With this reform, I am sure that the public would get a more clear and better picture. I also appreciate his decision to set up model schools in every district for providing education of high quality and excellence. This, according to me, is a vital reform in the educational field.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Now that Mr. Gurupadaswamy is in a different

mood, may I inform him and also the House that apart from the Paper on Administered Prices and the Paper on Agricultural Prices, the Government wants to bring out a Paper on expenditure, particularly Non-Plan expenditure, with facts and for a debate in the Parliament and also for suggestions from the Members?

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: I welcome this also, Sir That, according to me, Sir, is a vital reform in the educational field and the amount of Rs. 25 crores which he has provided for 1986-87 may be only a beginning in this direction. I also appreciate the Finance Minister for clarifying that the capitalisation of interest paid or payable, after the asset is first put to use, will not be allowed. This was a visible loophole and the industry was taking unfair advantage of the loophole, which the Finance Minister now wants to plug. But, unfortunately, Sir, he has not told us what will be its net revenue effect and why this lacuna in law was permitted for all these years, that is, since 1974.

Finally, Sir, I also welcome the step taken by the Finance Minister for trying to establish the principle that if the relief given in the interest of the consumer is not passed on to him, the Government would withdraw the relief. Accordingly, he has reduced the relief given to the yarn user roughly by about 50 per cent. This is a good beginning.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I rise to support wholeheartedly the Budget Estimates presented by the Finance Minister. I do this as it is a poor man's Budget.

It takes from the rich and gives
4 P.M. to the poor. Our great Parliamentarian, Mr. Gurupadaswamy has just now, at the end of his speech, come out with the real facts and the truth, and I congratulate him for speaking the truth.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY : Therefore, I was very impartial and fair.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: It is very clear from the fact that there is a 65 per cent of massive increase in the allocations for anti-poverty programmes. There is a Rs. 1000 crore extra bonanza for the 20-point programme 20.5 per cent increase in the Central Plan outlay—raising it to Rs. 22,300 crores, which further goes up to Rs. 30,000 crores if assistance to States is included. A lot of relief has been given to the common man. There is a subsidy of Rs. 3700 crores for food and fertilizers. On the other hand, the rich has been taxed. For example, colour T.V., automobiles and airconditioners have been subjected to a heavy burden of tax. There have been new welfare schemes for the poor and if you allow me to go into some of the proposals, I may point out that there has been a 51 per cent increase, from Rs. 283 crores to Rs. 428 crores in Integrated Rural Development Programme; increase of 93 per cent in National Rural Employment Programme, from Rs. 230 crore to Rs. 443 crore; by 58 per cent, from Rs. 400 crore to Rs. 633 crore in Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme. But, Sir, I may point out that as far as anti-poverty programmes are concerned, the Finance Minister himself must be aware that there have been serious complaints of leakages, corruption and waste in regard to the schemes for helping the poor. There have been cuts in loans taken by bank staff by Government employees and some other middle-men involved in these programmes. I am sure the Finance Minister will certainly have an eye on it and he will tighten the machinery so that real benefits which he wants to go to the poor, actually reaches them. I am afraid that at least 20 to 30 per cent of allocations is not reaching them.

Sir, it has been pointed out in various newspapers and in the legis-

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lature of States also that programmes being carried out under the anti-poverty schemes, should not be unproductive in nature; otherwise, these will be only the doles. The programmes should create permanent assets; otherwise this will be inflationary.

I may also point out that there is a good programme of Rs. 125 crore for housing for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and freed bonded labour, and the scheme has been named after our great revered leader, Mrs. Gandhi, i.e., Indira Gandhi Grah Nirman Yojna. There is the new scheme to subsidise bank loans to riksha-pullers, to cobblers, washermen, hawkers, and the cart-pullers etc. for their housing. I need not go into the details. But I would like to make some comments on certain schemes. It is good announcement that the interest rate on provident fund accumulations in the case of Government employees and other workers has been increased to 12 per cent. Everybody welcomes it. But may I point out one lacuna in this? As far as the Government employees are concerned, the scheme is all right. But in the case of others, in the original speech of the Finance Minister, about which some mention was made at some other place also, it has been provided that this 12 per cent will be given on special deposits, with the Government; not on the entire accumulation. If I am wrong, the hon. Minister can correct me; I think, deposits account for only 30 per cent and not 100 per cent. That is to say the workers will get 12 per cent only in the case of this 30 per cent deposit and not on hundred per cent of accumulations. This can be raised to, say, about 85 per cent or something like that. It is better that you give to workers, the same facility which you are giving in the case of the Government employees. I also welcome the increase in standard Income-tax deduction from Rs. 6000 to Rs. 10,000 in the case of salaried persons. This is over and above the exemption limit of Rs. 18,000.

As I said, Sir, the fixed income group is subjected to a lot of harassment by Income-tax officials. I know, after the Finance Minister has taken charge, he is particular about ending it and he has asked the Income-tax officers not to harass them unnecessarily. But I would like to tell him about his own town, Lucknow, where the fixed income group assessees are still being subjected to a lot of trouble. It is a normal practice with the Income-tax officers and staff. It was said that only test cases will be taken up. But a large number of cases are taken up. This is all unnecessary. After all, you get very little from the fixed income group who have all income certified almost. Instead of chasing the big fish, small people are being chased and a lot of time is wasted on this. Notices are issued to them. They go there. The income-tax officer comes at 12 noon and goes away at 4 p.m. Instead of chasing the big guys, small people are being called again and again. Take, for instance, refunds. You can yourself find out. You can verify by sending somebody incognito.

It is almost a rule that for refunds, a certain percentage of money has to be paid to the Income-tax staff. This should be stopped. Nothing moves without money. Already, your scheme of lowering the exemption limit has succeeded. The yield has increased by 36 per cent. I would like to suggest, in this connection, that the exemption limit should be raised further so that some real relief is given to the fixed income group, who are really hard-hit because of the rise in prices. The exemption of national income in the case of self-occupied house is also welcome.

As far as the common man is concerned, the income-tax concessions on medical expenses of salary-earners and self-employed persons, removal of excise duty on additional 41 life-saving drugs, increase in the value limit of complete excise exemption in case of footwear from Rs. 30 per pair to Rs. 45 per pair, setting

up of a new mutual fund for small investors are all, undoubtedly, welcome.

Then, Sir, many people have spoken about the subsidy of Rs. 37,00 crores on food and fertilisers which has increased by 40% in the last 3 years and which will, at the present rate of growth, rise to Rs. 14000 by the end of the 7th Plan which will be equal to two years of Central Plan. In other words, this money can be utilized for digging one deep tubewell and constructing one primary school building in every village in the country. There was some controversy whether this subsidy should be continued. In my opinion, it should be continued. The poor people have to be helped. As has been pointed out, a lot of grain is being wasted, some is getting rotten and at the same time some poor people are starving. This is the dichotomy. There are poor people in the country. It is no use having big budgets if we cannot feed our hungry people.

The concessions given to small scale industries are greatly welcomed. For example, creation of a special fund in IDBI to provide refinance assistance for development and expansion and modernisation of small scale industries and new growth-oriented schemes and excise concessions for the small scale industries are some of these. But I must say, as I have said about the anti-poverty schemes. There is a lot of leakage, waste and corruption. In the name of small scale industry, loans are taken but in a large number of cases they are not utilized for the objectives for which they are taken. They are used for other things. A part of it is taken by the bank staff and part of it by the middlemen and officials. I hope the Finance Minister will look into this and close the loop-holes.

I welcome the announcements he has made about taxing the rich e.g. raising the excise duty in lieu of sales tax on costlier varieties of cotton and man-made fabrics, raising duty on cars, increasing duty on colour TVs. increasing duty on air-conditioners and ancillaries and the tax payable on gifts of higher value, heavy tax on windfall income from lotteries and horse races etc. I must say that the rich must pay. After all the money that they have belongs to the poor and unless they contribute, we cannot have a big Plan which we are going to have. For all this some sacrifice has to be made and the rich must make their contribution for nation building.

The public sector has been maligned to a great extent. But every sane person will realise that despite the performance of the public sector which has not been very satisfactory, it is very necessary to strengthen it not only for our economic independence but also for our political independence. Our great leader, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, laid the foundation of the public sector—in developing industrial infrastructure for our defence industries and heavy industries sector and it is because of this that today we are in a position to have steel and fertilizer factories of our own and we can set them up in other countries as well. Everybody in India is proud of Kalpakkam where whatever atomic fuel we consume is automatically replenished there. We can today raise our heads with great pride. We cannot be blackmailed by any super power. Tarapur is now a thing of the past. Nobody can tell us, "do this and do that". We must concede at the same time that public sector has not been functioning properly. Some officials have been functioning as nawabs and a large number of public sector undertakings are headless. Proper arrangements are not made to have heads appointed in time, proper selection procedure is not adopted, for selecting them.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri R. Ramakrishnan) in the Chair] It is not done quickly. All this con-

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ibutes to the present state of affairs. I am sure the Finance Minister will look into the functioning of the public sector so that it is not unsatisfactory. In any case, I am sure the House will be with me when I say that the public sector must be strengthened and it must continue to occupy the commanding heights of economy without which nothing much can be achieved.

Before I close I must pay a tribute to the Finance Minister for standing up to the blackmail and abuses hurled at him because of the raids his department has been conducting on the big fry. There cannot be any discrimination as far as the law of the land is concerned between the poor and the rich and the rich cannot get away by saying that everybody is violating the law and evades taxes, i.e., everybody is stealing. If every body is a thief, that does not mean that the police should be withdrawn. Suddenly there is a concerted attack on the Congress Party in the press and in other places. Our leaders were paragons of virtue till yesterday, but today some people are attacking them because these raids have been conducted and the rich people are being caught. I am sure the Finance Minister will continue with it. Of course, nobody wants unnecessary harassment to anyone.

Before I conclude I must appeal to the Government to see to it that justice is done to newspapermen. Wage Boards have been appointed but they are dragging their feet. There is inordinate delay in the announcement of interim relief and because of that there is great dissatisfaction and concern among the newspapermen. Wage Boards are meeting these days. They do meet but they postpone their hearings after some sittings. There may be some reasons, but these are not convincing to journalists. I am sure the Government has asked them to expedite it. Government must also take necessary steps to tell them that they should submit their reports quickly. The Government should quickly take a decision on receiving the report and the Act—which I read out in the House the other day —does not envisage long procedures which are usually adopted in the case of final recommendations. As far as interim relief is concerned, the Government has only to consult the Wage Board. I hope wisdom will dawn on everyone concerned and the Wage Board will quickly submit the reports on interim relief and Government will not take much time in announcing interim relief which is very necessary. It should not be delayed any longer.

Thank you very much.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, Mr. Kapil Verma said that there were raids on the houses of big sharks and that is why opposition leaders are attacking. Are there any raids on the houses of opposition leaders?

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN) : You speak when your turn comes. Dr. Kidwai.

डा० एम० हाशिम किदवई (उत्तर प्रदेश) : जनाब वाइस चेयरमैन साहब और मुअज्जिज मैम्बरान इससे पहले कि मैं फाइनांस मिनिस्टर साहब को मुबारकबाद दूं कि उन्होंने एक ऐसा बजट पेश किया है जो सही मायनों में गरीब आदमी का बजट है या कामनमैन का बजट है, मैं समझता हूं कि एक शेर पेश कर दूं इसलिए जिससे यह जाहिर हो जाए कि हमारा बजट मुल्क की सियासी सामाजिक और माली हालात की अक्कासी करता है हमारी खुशकिस्मती है कि हमारे लीडर राजीव गांधी जी मुल्क को बड़ी तेजी के साथ हमारी मंजिलेमकसूद यानी डैमोक्रेटिक सोशलियजम की तरफ ले जा रहे है और इसीलिए हमारे बजट में इसी की झलक नजर आती है मुल्क की मौजूदा

सियासी सूरतेहाल इसे शायर ने यों पेश किया है:

"पुरानी सियासतगरी ख्वार है,
जमीन मीर–ओ–सुलतान से बेजार है
जमाने के अंदाज बदले गए
नया राग है, साज बदले गए।"

हमारे मुल्क में पहले जिस किस्म की सियासत चल रही थी सर्मायादारों का जोर था जागीदारों का जोर था और जमीदारों का जोर था हमारी कांग्रेस ने पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू मिसेस इंदिरा गांधी और अब राजीव गांधी ज के कयादत में इन तमाम बुतों को तोड़ दिया है और अब हम तेजी के साथ सोशलिजम की तरफ बढ़ रहे हैं और बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि दूसरे कम्युनिस्ट मुल्को के बरअक्स हमारे मुल्क में शांति के साथ यह सब काम हो रहा है। और पूरी आजादी के साथ यह यह काम economic construction हो रहा है। मैंने पहले अर्ज किया था यानि शुरू में कि यह बजट गरीब आदमी का बजट है, कामन मेन का बजट है, इसमें किसी किस्म का कोई बोझ आम आदमी पर नहीं पड़ा है बल्कि हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब ने पूरी कोशिश की है कि हर तबके को रिलीफ दें और इसके लिए वे बहुत ज्यादा काबिले मुबारकबाद हैं। बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि उनकी जुर्रात मन्दाना कियादत में हम यह देख रहे हैं। टैक्स के कलेक्शन में भी बहुत इजाफा हुआ है। इसी तरह से ब्लेकमनी रोज-ब-रोज कम हो रही है और दिन दूर नहीं है, जबकि मुल्क इस जबरदस्त बीमारी से छुटकारा पा लेगा।

इसके साथ ही यह भी बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि हाई–इन्फलेशन, जो कि हमारी इकोनोमी को खाए जा रही थी और जो इकोनोमी के लिए जान लेवा बीमारी है, पर भी बड़ी हद तक काबू पा लिया गया है और यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि इन्फ्लेशन का रेट कम हो गया है और जिस तरह से रेड्स और छापे ब्लेक मार्केटियर्स और स्मगलर्स पर किए जा रहे है, उससे भी मुल्क में हमारी इकोनोमी बढ़ रही है और इसमें मजबूती आ रही है। हमारी नेशनल-इकोनोमी की स्थिति आज यह है कि हमारा प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा है और नेशनल-इन्कम में इजाफा हुआ है। इन तमाम बातों से हमें पूरी उम्मीद है कि बहुत जल्द हमारा मुल्क दिन दूनी रात चौगुनी तरक्की करेगा।

साथ ही जनाबे सदर, हमारे लिए बड़े फकर की बात है कि बजट में एण्टी पारटी प्रोग्राम को खास अहमियत दी गयी है और बहुत बड़ रकम इसके लिए मन्सूब की गयी है। इस बजट का एक खास पहलू यह है कि इसमें हरिजनों के लिए, शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के लिये, वांडेड लेबर के लिए बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर हाऊसिंग स्कीम का प्रोविजन किया गया है इसके लिए भी फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब काबिले–मुबारकबाद के मुस्तहक हैं। सेलरीड ग्रुप के लिए बड़ी रिलीफ दी गय है और पूरी कोशिश यह की गई है कि रोजमर्रा के इस्तेमाल की जो चीजें हैं, उसके ऊपर कोई बहुत बड़ा बोझ न हो बल्कि इनमें भी बहुत ज्यादा रिलीफ दिया गया है, जिसकी तफसील में मैं नहीं जाना चाहता क्योंकि हाऊस के मेम्बरान को इसका इल्म है। इसके लिए बजा तौर पर हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब मुबारकबाद के मुस्तहक हैं।

अब मैं बाज जरूरी तजवीजे मिनिस्टर साहब की खिदमत में पेश करूगा कि इन पर गौर फरमायें। मसलन बेरोजगारों को अनएंपलायमेंट एलाउंस दिया जाय ताकि बेचारे जो बेकार हैं, बेरोजगार हैं, उनको कुछ रिलीफ मिले। इसी तरह से मेरी दरखास्त यह होगी कि इन्कम-टैक्स की लिमिट बढ़ाकर 30 हजार कर दी जाय और इसी तरह से न्यूज प्रिंट के सिलसिले में मैं फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब की तवज्जह दिलाना चाहूंगा कि इसमें भी रिलीफ दी जाये ताकि अखबार पढ़ने वालों को भी राहत मिले क्योंकि रोज-ब-रोज अखबारों की कीमतें बढ़ती जा रही हैं और वह आम लोगों को अदा करनी पड़ती है। जो लोग किताबों के कीड़े हैं, और किताबें पढ़ते रहते हैं इस तरह वजह से इनको बड़ी तकलीफ हो रही है, जब कि पिछले दो तीन साल पहले किताबों के पब्लिशर्स

[डा० एम० हाशिम किदवई]

को जो रियायतें हासिल थीं वह वापिस ले ली गई हैं। इसलिए फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से गुजारिश है कि अगर पब्लिशर्स को रिलीफ नहीं मिलेगा, तो ऑथर को भी कुछ नहीं मिलेगा । लिहाजा मुझे उम्मीद है कि फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब इस तरफ खास तवज्जुह देंगे और पब्लिशर्स को न सिर्फ मुकम्मल रियायतें देंगे बल्कि कुछ मजीद रियायतें दी जायें ।

इसके साथ साथ मेरी एक दरखास्त और भी होगी कि बैंकिंग सर्विस की तरफ खास तवज्जुह की जाए , जो टैक्सों में गड़बड़ घपले होते हैं खास तौर से जो लोन देने के सिलसिले में इसकी तरफ खास गौर करने की जरूरत है । इसी तरह से इन्कम-टैक्स सिस्टम पर भी पूरे तौर से ध्यान देने की जरूरत है और अगर कायदे के अन्दर इजाजत हो तो मैं एक बात अर्ज करना चाहूंगा कि सेलरीड लोग जो होते हैं, इनसे महीना भर काम लिया जाता है और उसके बाद उनको तनख्वाह मिलती है, लेकिन गालबन इन्कम-टैक्स एक वाहिद डिपार्टमेंट है, जो पेशगी इन्कम-टैक्स काटता है । तो अगर कोई कायदे और कानून की खिलाफवर्जी न होती हो तो यह जो एडवांस सिस्टम है कि पहले से इन्कम टैक्स काटा लिया जाता है तो उस को भी तनख्वाह से खत्म किया जाय । या फिर तनख्वाह के लिए यह सिस्टम किया जाय कि तनख्वाह पहले दे दी जाय, काट बाद में लिया जाय । अगर वह नहीं हो सकता तो इसी तरह से इन्कम टैक्स में जो पेशगी काटने का कायदा है उस में तरमीम की जाय और कोशिश की जाय कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा ह्यूमन एप्रोच हो, जैसा कि हमारे दोस्त ने फरमाया था कि आम तौर से देखा यह जाता है कि इन्कम टैक्स की ज्यादा जो पकड़ होती है वह छोटे तबके की होती है । इस चीज को खत्म करने की जरूरत है।

इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं इस बजट को वेलकम करता हूं और उम्मीद करता हूं कि बहुत जल्द हमारा मुल्क डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिज्म की तरफ बढ़ेगा और वह दिन दूर नहीं है कि जब हमारे मुल्क में सोसलिस्टिक समाज कायम होगा और इसी मजमून को एक शायर ने अदा किया है, जिस पर ही मैं अपनी तकरीर खत्म करता हूं :

'दलीले सुबह रोशन है सतारों की तुनकताबी,
उफक से आफताब उभर गया दौरे गरांख्वाबी ।'

†[شری ڈاکٹر ایم - هاشم قدوائی

(اتر پردیش) : جناب وائس چیرمین صاحب - اور معزز ممبران - اس سے پہلے کہ میں فائنینس منسٹر صاحب کو مبارکباد دوں - کہ انہوں نے ایسا بجٹ پیش کیا ہے - جو صحیح معنوں میں غریب آدمی کا بجٹ ہے - یا کامن مین کا بجٹ ہے - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ایک شعر پیش کر دوں کہ جس سے یہ ظاہر ہو جائے کہ ہمارا ملک کی سیاسی - سماجی - اور معاشی حالات کی عکاسی کرتا ہے - ہماری خوش قسمتی ہے کہ ہمارے لیڈر راجیو گاندھی جی ملک کو بڑی تیزی کے ساتھ ہماری منزل مقصود یعنی ڈیموکریٹک سوشلزم کی طرف لے جا رہے ہیں اور اسی لئے ہمارے بجٹ میں اسی کی جھلک نظر آتی ہے - ملک کی موجودہ سیاسی صورت حال - اسے شاعر نے یوں پیش کیا ہے :

†[ ] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

کلیکشن میں بھی بہت اضافہ ہوا ہے - اسی طرح بلیک منی روز بروز دم ہو رہی ہے - اور وہ دن دور نہیں جب ملک اس زبردست بیماری سے چھٹکارہ پا لے گا -

اسکے ساتھ ہی یہ بھی بڑی خوشی کی بات ہے کہ ہائی انفلیشن جو کہ ہماری اکونامی کو کھائے جا رہی تھی - اور جو Economy کے لئے جان لیوا بیماری ہے پر بھی بڑی حد تک قابو پالیا گیا ہے - اور یہ بڑی خوشی کی بات ہے کہ انفلیشن کا ریٹ کم ہو گیا ہے - اور جس طرح سے ریٹس اور چھاپے بلیک مارکیٹرس اور اسمگلرس پر کئے جا رہے ہیں - اس سے بھی ملک میں ہماری اکانومی بڑھ رہی ہے - اور اس میں مضبوطی آ رہی ہے ہماری نیشنل اکانومی کی اسٹرنتھ آج یہ ہے کہ ہمارا پروڈکشن بڑھا ہے اور نیشنل انکم میں اضافہ ہوا ہے - ان تمام باتوں سے ہمیں پوری امید ہے کہ بہت جلد ہمارا ملک دن دونی رات چوگنی ترقی کریگا -

ساتھ ہی جناب صدر ہمارے لئے بڑے فخر کی بات ہے کہ اس بجٹ میں ایلنگی پاورٹی پروگرام کو خاص اہمیت دی گئی ہے اور بہت بڑی رقم اس کے لئے مخصوص کی گئی ہے -

[شری ڈاکٹر ایم - ہاشم قدوائی]

پرانی حیاسے - گری خوار ہے
زمین میر و سلطان سے بیزار ہے -
زمانہ کے انداز بدلے گئے
نیا راگ ہے ساز بدلے گئے -

ہمارے ملک میں پہلے جس قسم کی سیاست چل رہی تھی - سرمایہ داروں کا زور تھا - جاگیرداروں کا زور تھا اور زمینداروں کا زور تھا - ہماری کانگریس نے پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو نے مسز اندرا گاندھی اور اب راجیو گاندھی جی کی قیادت میں ان تمام بتوں کو توڑ دیا ہے اور اب ہم تیزی کے ساتھ سوشلزم کی طرف بڑھ رہے ہیں اور بڑی خوشی کی بات ہے کہ دوسرے کمیونسٹ ملکوں کے برعکس ہمارے ملک میں شانتی کے ساتھ یہ سب کام ہو رہا ہے - اور پوری آزادی کے ساتھ یہ کام Economic reconstruction ہو رہا ہے - میں نے پہلے عرض کیا تھا یعنی شروع میں کہ یہ بجٹ غریب آدمی کا بجٹ ہے - کامن مین کا بجٹ ہے - اسمیں کسی قسم کا کوئی بوجھ عام آدمی پر نہیں پڑا ہے - بلکہ ہمارے فائنینس منسٹر صاحب نے پوری کوشش کی ہے کہ ہر طبقہ کو ریلیف دیں اور اس کیلئے وہ بہت زیادہ قابل مبارکباد ہیں - یہ بڑی خوشی کی بات ہے کہ انکی جرات مندانہ قیادت میں ہم یہ دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ ٹیکس کے

روز بروز اخباروں کی قیمتیں بڑھتی جا رہی ہیں - اور وہ عام لوگوں کو ادا کرنی پڑتی ہے جو لوگ کتابوں کے کیڑے ہیں - اور کتابیں پڑھتے رہتے ہیں اس وجہ سے بڑی تکلیف ہو رہی ہے - جبکہ پچھلے دو تین سال پہلے کتابوں کے پبلشروں کو جو رعائتیں حاصل نہیں وہ واپس لے لی گئی ہیں- اس لئے فائنینس منسٹر صاحب سے گزارش ہے کہ اگر پبلشرس کو ریلیف نہیں ملے گا تو آتھر کو بھی کچھ نہیں ملے گا - لحاظہ مجھے امید ہے کہ فائنینس منسٹر صاحب اس طرف خاص توجہ دیں گے اور پبلشرس کو صرف مکمل رعایتیں دیں گے بلکہ کچھ مزید رعایتیں بھی دی جائیں -

اس کے ساتھ ساتھ میری ایک درخواست اور بھی ہوگی کہ بینکنگ سروس کی طرف بھی خاص توجہ کی جائے - جو ٹیکسوں میں گڑبڑ - گھپلے ہوتے ہیں - خاص طور سے جو لون دینے کے سلسلے میں اسکی طرف خاص غور کرنے کی ضرورت ہے - اسی طرح سے انکم ٹیکس سسٹم پر بھی پورے طور سے دھیان دینے کی ضرورت ہے - اور اگر قاعدہ کے اندر اجازت ہو تو میں ایک بات عرض کرنا چاہونگا کہ سیلریڈ لوگ، جو ہوتے ہیں- ان سے مہینہ بھر کام لیا جاتا ہے اور اسکے بعد ان کو تنخواہ ملتی ہے - لیکن غالباً انکم ٹیکس ایک واحد

[ڈاکٹر ایم - ہاشم قدوائی]

اس بجٹ کا ایک خاص پہلو یہ ہے کہ اس میں ہریجنوں کیلئے - شیڈولڈ کاسٹ کیلئے - بانڈیڈ لیبر کے لئے - بہت بڑے پیمانہ پر ہاؤسنگ اسکیم کا پراولیشن کیا گیا ہے - اس کے لئے بھی فائنینس منسٹر صاحب مبارکباد کے مستحق ہیں - سیلریڈ انکم گروپ کیلئے بڑی ریلیف دی گئی ہے اور پوری کوشش یہ کی گئی ہے کہ روز مرہ کے استعمال کی جو چیزیں ہیں - انکے اوپر کوئی بہت بڑا بوجھ نہ ہو بلکہ ان میں بھی بہت زیادہ ریلیف دیا گیا ہے - جسکی تفصیل میں میں نہیں جانا چاہتا کیونکہ ہاؤس کے ممبران کو اس کا علم ہے - اس کے لئے بجا طور پر ہمارے فائنینس منسٹر صاحب مبارکباد کے مستحق ہیں -

اب میں بعض ضروری تجویزیں منسٹر صاحب کی خدمت میں پیش کرونگا - کہ ان پر غور فرمائیں - مثلاً بےروزگاری کو ان ایمپلائمنٹ الاؤنس دیا جائے تاکہ جو بیچارے بیکار ہیں - بے روزگار ہیں - ان کو کچھ ریلیف ملے - اسی طرح سے میری درخواست یہ ہوگی کہ انکم ٹیکس کی لمٹ بڑھا کر تیس ہزار کر دی جائے اور اسی طرح سے نیوز - پرنٹ کے سلسلے میں میں فائنینس منسٹر صاحب کی توجہ دلانا چاہونگا کہ اس میں بھی ریلیف دی جائے تاکہ اخبار پڑھنے والوں کو بھی راحت ملے کیونکہ

ڈیپارٹمنٹ ہے جو پیشگی انکم ٹیکس کاٹتا ہے تو اگر کوئی قاعدہ اور قانون کی خلاف ورزی نہ ہوتی ہو - تو یہ جو ایڈوانس سسٹم ہے کہ پہلے سے انکم ٹیکس لیا جاتا ہے اسکو بھی تنخواہ سے ختم کیا جائے - یا پھر تنخواہ کے لئے یہ سسٹم کیا جائے کہ تنخواہ پہلے دیدی جائے - کام بعد میں لیا جائے - اگر وہ نہیں ہو سکتا تو اسی طرح سے انکم ٹیکس میں جو پہلے پیشگی کاٹنے کا قاعدہ ہے اسمیں ترمیم کی جائے اور کوشش کی جائے کہ زیادہ سے زیادہ ہیومن اپروچ ہو - جیسا کہ ہمارے دوست نے فرمایا تھا کہ عام طور سے دیکھا یہ جاتا ہے کہ انکم ٹیکس کی زیادہ جو پکڑ ہوتی ہے وہ چھوٹے طبقہ کی ہوتی ہے - اس چیز کو ختم کرنے کی ضرورت ہے -

ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اس بجٹ کو ویلکم کرتا ہوں - اور امید کرتا ہوں کہ بہت جلد ہمارا ملک ڈیموکریٹک سوشلزم کی طرف بڑھے گا اور وہ دن دور نہیں ہے کہ جب ہمارے ملک میں سوشلسٹک سماج قائم ہو گا اور اسی مضمون کو ایک شاعر نے ادا کیا ہے - جس پر ہی میں اپنی تقریر ختم کرتا ہوں -

دلیل صبح روشن ہے
ستاروں کی تنک تابی

افق سے آفتاب ابھرا کیا
دور گراں خوابی -]

श्री सैयद अहामद हाशमी (उत्तर प्रदेश): जनाब वायस चैयरमैन, साहब, यह जो बजट पेश किया गया है, जनरल बजट जिस पर हम डिस्कशन कर रहे हैं, इस सिलसिले में यह तस्वीर दिखाने की कोशिश की जा रही है कि यह बजट एक ऐसा अनोखा फैसला है कि जो मुल्क से गरीबी को दूर कर देगा। आज तो प्रोपेगेंडा की दुनिया है। हुकुमत के हाथ में सारे रिसोसज है, प्रोपैगेंडा से जैसी तस्वीर पेश की जायगी वैसी ही तस्वीर लोगों को समझाने के लिये सामने लायी जायगी और उसके लिए वे वैसी ही कोशिश कर सकते हैं। लेकिन शकल यह है कि आम गरीब आदमी की फीलिंग यह है कि यह जो बजट पेश किया जाता है यह तो एक फार्मेलिटी पूरी करने के लिये पेश किया जाता है। वरना सही बात यह है कि इससे पहले ही गरीबों का गला काट लिया जाता है। चुनाचे इस दफा भी यही हुआ। आज कई सालों से यह कंवेंशन पड़ गया है इस दफा भी बजट से पहले आप की जो जरूरी चीजें थीं उन के दाम बढ़ा दिये गये और आप जानते हैं कि पहले किसी जमाने में गल्ले का निर्ख बढ़ा तो सारी चीजों के दाम बढ जाते थे। आज सिचूयेशन यह है कि ट्रांसपोर्ट के दाम बढ गये तो सारी चीजों के दाम बढ़ जायेंगे। आप ने पेट्रोल के, खाद के, दाम बढ़ा दिये। चावल, गेहूं के दाम बढ़ा दिये। नतीजा यह है कि गरीब जो पूरे साल इंतजार करता रहा है कि इस दफा इस बजट में हमारे लिये क्या हो रहा है सोचता रहता है कि इसके बाद हमारी जिंदगी कितनी सस्ती बनेगी उस को एक मर्तबा फिर मायूसी और नाउम्मीदी का मुंह देखना पड़ रहा है। हो सकता है कि आप ने टी० वी० के दाम कुछ कम कर दिये हों। अगर उन के दाम कुछ बढ़ भी जाते तो उस को वह खरीद सकता था, लेकिन एक गरीब जिस की जेब में 5 पैसे न हों, अगर उस के लिए जरूरी चीजों का दाम एक पैसा भी बढ़ जाय तो वह 6 पैसे की चीज नहीं खरीद सकता। मैं बतला दूं कि जिस बजट की बहुत चर्चा हो रही है बजट से पहले ही अन-डेमोक्रेटिक तरीके पर, गैर जमहूरी तरीके पर पेट्रोलियम के दाम बढ़ाये गये और 800 करोड़ रुपया उस से हुकुमत को फायदा हुआ। खाद पर कुछ सब्सीडी कम कर के उस के दाम बढ़ा

[श्री सैयद अहमद हासम]

दिये गये और उससे 600 करोड़ रुपया हुकूमत ने जमा कर लिया । (व्यवधान) यह सही है कि गरीबों की जेब में कुछ आना नहीं है । आप के कोयले के दाम बढ़ने से हुकूमत की जेब में 405 करोड़ रुपये गये और जनाबेवाला रेल का किराया बढ़ा । उस से 78 करोड़ रुपए बटोर लिये और इस तरीके से पार्लियामेंट की इजाजत के बगैर 2883 करोड़ रुपया जमा कर लिया गया । इस को अगर बजट में डालते तो हाहाकार मच गया होता । लेकिन आप ने निहायत चालाकी के साथ बजट के पहले ही इन के दाम बढ़ा दिये । उसके बावजूद दिलचस्प बात यह है कि आपको शायद याद होगा कि एक मर्तबा इस बजट सैशन का ऐलान किया गया था कि 17 तारीख से होगा । लेकिन अखबारों में आ जाने के बावजूद यह तरदीद हो गई कि 17 से नहीं 20 से हो रहा है । ...(व्यवधान) । अखबारों में बाकायदा इस तरह का आया था कि बजट सैशन होगा फर्म तरीके से आया था कि बजट सैशन शुरू हो रहा है । वह महज इसलिए आपने डिले किया तारीख को ऐक्सटेंड किया कि इस तरह से बजट सैशन का ऐलान करने के बाद कोई आर्डिनेंस लाते तो लोगों को ऐतराज होता कि बजट के ऐलान के बाद यह दाम क्यों बढ़ाए गए ? इसलिए आपने उस तारीख को बढ़ा दिया । लेकिन बावजूद उसके यह सारा खेल खेला गया और अनडेमोक्रेटिक तरीके से आपने 2883 करोड़ रुपए अपने बजट से पहले ही अवाम की जेब से निकाल लिए । उसके बावजूद भी यह 4490 करोड़ रुपए के घाटे का बजट है। इसको आप कैसे पूरा करेंगे जाहिर है कि कर्ज लेंगे और ऐक्सपर्ट्स का कहना है कि यह कर्ज 10 हजार करोड़ रुपए तक चला जाएगा ।

मैं एक बात और कह दूं कि आपने डायरेक्ट टैक्सेज और इनडाइरैक्ट टैक्सेज के अन्दर बहुत फर्क किया है । डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज 467 करोड़ रुपए रखे हैं । यह किसकी जेब से जाते हैं । जनता की, गरीब की जेब से जाते हैं जब कि इनडाइरैक्ट टैक्सेज केवल 21 करोड़ रुपए रखे हैं । आपके सामने यह कंसिडरेशन था कि गोया पूंजीपतियों और सरमायेदारों को जितनी प्रोटेक्शन आप दे सकते है, दे। और ऐवाम की जेब के ऊपर जितना डाका डाल सकते हैं डालें । आपने कंपनियों को छुट दी है । दूसरे मुल्कों में ज्यादा से ज्यादा माल ऐक्सपोर्ट करें इसके लिए सहूलियत दी है । जहां के मल्टीनेशनलस को छुट दी है । जाहिर है कि इससे जिस तरह का वातावरण इस मुल्क के अन्दर बनेगा उससे हिन्दुस्तान के गरीब मायूस हैं कि इस देश के अन्दर सोशलिज्म नाम की कोई चीज आने वाली नहीं है । आप 5 साला प्लान का नारा लगा रहे हैं, बजट में आप यह ऐलान कर रहे हैं कि यहां सोशलिज्म आ रहा है, लेकिन जब ऐवाम बाजार में जाती है, जब जनता की एक एक फैमिली अपने महीने का बजट देखती है और अपनी कैपेसिटी देखती है, इनकम और एक्सपेंडीचर देखती है तो मालूम होता है कि सोशलिज्म का पता नहीं । सुबह चिराग जल गया तो शाम को जलेगा कि नहीं, सुबह खाना मिल गया तो शाम को मिलेगा या नहीं, इसका लोगों में इत्मीनान नहीं है ।

आप कहते है कि गरीबी हटाने के लिए आपने बहुत से ऐफर्ट्स किए हैं और बड़ी गुंजाइश रखी है । लेकिन मैं बताऊं कि यह भी एक धोखा है। लास्ट ईयर के बजट के मुकाबले में इस बजट के अन्दर आपने 50 परसेंट रकम ज्यादा खर्च करने की गुंजायश रखी है। लेकिन क्या 50 परसेंट चीजों का दाम नहीं बढ़ गया ? प्रोजेक्ट आप एक दफा मंजूर करते हैं और इसके दाम अगले साल दो गुने हो जाते हैं। इसी तरीके से आपने यह कहा है कि 50 परसेंट लास्ट इयर के मुकाबले के अन्दर आपने ज्यादा रकम खर्च करने के लिए रखी है, लेकिन चीजों के जो दाम बढ़ते हैं, उसके अन्दर वह केवल 20 परसेंट ही रहेगा । इस तरह से यह एक धोखा है जिसको आप शायद कहते हैं कि गरीबों की मदद कर रहे हैं ।

आपने टेक्स फ्री रकम 5 हजार से बढ़ाकर 20 हजार कर दी । अनऐक्सपेक्टेड मुनाफे की रकम 5 से 10 हजार कर दी । लेकिन गरीबों को धोखा देते रहे ।

[श्री सैयद अहमद हाशम]

अभी मैंने कहा कि ऐसे नान-डेवलपमेंट कामों के अंदर आपने क्या किया ? बचत के नाम पर आपने यह काम किया है कि क्लर्कों और चपरासियों की भर्ती पर रोक लगा दी है । एक तरफ तो हमारे देश में बेरोजगारी है, अनइम्प्लायमेंट है और उनकी तादाद दिन-ब-दिन बढ़ती जा रही है, दूसरी तरफ आपने इस तरह का बैन लगा रखा है । मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर आप हमारे बेरोजगार नवजवानों को रोजगार नहीं दे सकते हैं तो उनको बेरोजगारी का भत्ता दीजिए । जिस तरह से सोशलिस्ट कन्ट्रीज में और नान-सोशलिस्ट कन्ट्रीज में होता है वहां पर बेरोजगारों को बेरोजगारी का भत्ता दिया जाता है, उसी तरह से हमारे मुल्क में भी होना चाहिए । आप गरीबों को गरीबी की सीमा से ऊपर उठाने की बात करते हैं, लेकिन गरीब लोग समझते हैं कि वे गरीबी की सीमा से और भी नीचे जा रहे हैं । इसलिए जब तक आप हमारे मुल्क में बेरोजगार नवजवानों को बेरोजगारी का भत्ता नहीं देते हैं तब तक इस मुल्क की गरीबी नहीं हट सकती है । यह बहुत अहम मामला है । इसको आपको गहराई से कन्सीडर करना चाहिए । एक तरफ तो आप उन लोगों को बेरोजगारी का भत्ता नहीं देते हैं और दूसरी तरफ आपकी फाइनन्स मिनिस्ट्री ने नई भर्ती पर बैन लगा रखा है । इस सूरते हाल में कैसे मुल्क से बेरोजगारी दूर होगी ? इसी तरीके से नान-डेवलपमेंट प्लान में बचत के नाम पर भर्ती को तो बंद किया ही गया है, साथ-ही लोगों को रोजगार से निकाला जा रहा है । फूड कारपोरेशन में साढ़े छः हजार मजदूरों को निकाला जा रहा है । बहुत सारी पब्लिक अन्डरटेकिंग्ज के अन्दर मजदूरों को निकालने के प्रोग्राम बन चुके हैं । इन सब बातों के बावजूद नान-डेवलपमेंट के कामों में इजाफा हुआ है । एक तरफ तो यह हालत है और दूसरी तरफ बेरोजगार नवजवानों को रोजगार मुहैय्या नहीं हो रहा है । यह जो जुल्म है, इसको खत्म किया जाना चाहिए ।

आपने आई० एम० एफ० और वर्ल्ड बैंक के दबाव में आकर बहुत सी चीजों में सब्सीडी कम कर दी है । लेकिन फिर भी सब्सीडी पर खर्च होने वाली रकम के अन्दर कमी नहीं हुई है इजाफा ही हुआ है । आपने इम्पोर्ट की स्कीम भी बनाई है । यह रकम सन् 1985-86 में 3959 करोड़ रुपए थी, मगर सन्, 1986-87 में यह रकम 4741 करोड़ रुपए हो जाएगी । इसके अन्दर मैं एक बात पाइन्ट आउट करना चाहता हूं कि जिन चीजों में आपने सब्सीडी कम की है उसमें खुराक की चीजें भी हैं । जाहिर है कि इससे कीमतें बढ़ेंगी । मैं समझता हूं कि अगर अवाम को सामने रखकर कोई फैसला करते तो यह सूरते हाल पैदा नहीं होती । खुराक की चीजों में सब्सीडी कम करने पर भी जो सब्सीडी 1985-86 में 11 सौ करोड़ रुपए की थी वह बढ़कर 17 सौ करोड़ रुपयों की हो ही गई है । इसके साथ-साथ गेहूं और चावल के दाम भी बढ़ गए हैं । आपने बहुत सी चीजों के लिए अपने बजट में प्रोमिश किया है और बहुत सारी डायरेक्शन भी दी हैं । आपने यह यकीन दिलाने की कोशिश की है कि आप हिन्दुस्तान में चार चांद लगा देंगे और कहा है कि इस मुल्क में गरीबी की हालत नहीं रहेगी । एक बात मैं बहुत विनम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि आपने बहुत-सी चीजों में एलोकेशन की है लेकिन हाउसिंग का मसला सबसे अहम मसला है । उसकी तरफ खास ध्यान देने की जरूरत है । हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर हाउसिंग का मसला बहुत एक्यूट होता जा रहा है । आज हालत यह हो गई है कि हाउसिंग का मसला हल करने के नाम पर गरीबों के मकान जला दिये जाते हैं, उनके मकानों को उजाड़ा जाता है । आपके मकान बनाने का फायदा तभी होगा जब आप गरीबों के लिए सस्ते मकान बनायेंगे । उनको इस बात का भरोसा होना चाहिए कि वे अपने मकानों के अंदर अपने बीवी बच्चों के साथ जिन्दा रह सकें ।

[श्री सैयद अहमद हाशमी]

मैं यह बात इसलिए कह रहा हूं कि जहां बहुत से डायरेक्शंस के अंदर आप यह कह रहे हैं कि हम हिन्दुस्तान को जन्नत-आशिया बनाने जा रहे हैं, हम यह कहेंगे कि मूल्क के अंदर, इस बजट के अंदर एक मद कम्यूनिलिज्जम और फिरकापरस्ती को जड़ें मूल्क से उखाड़ने के लिए होना चाहिए, बजट में इसके लिए अलोकेशन होना चाहिए । इसको सिर्फ होम मिनिस्ट्री के ऊपर नहीं छोड़ना चाहिए बल्कि इसके लिये एक प्राविजन रखना चाहिए । यह बात बहुत जरूरी है, बहुत अहम है । जाहिर है कि आज 37-38 सालों के अंदर जो हिन्दुस्तान की तस्वीर बन रही है उसके अंदर यह है कि अगर कोई गरीबी से उभरने की कोशिश करे और आगे बढ़ने की कोशिश करे तो उसमें जहां उसको बहुत सारी रुकावटें हैं, वहीं मूल्क की सूरते-हाल, मूल्क का वातावरण ऐसा है कि वह इत्मीनान से अपनी जिंदगी गुजार नहीं सकता । अभी एक महीने के अंदर जो सूरतेहाल यू० पी० के अंदर और देश के दूसरे मुखतलिफ हिस्सों के अंदर हुई, आज हुकुमत का यह है कि वह नान-इश्यूज के ऊपर हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को लगा रहा है और इस तरीके से अवाम के अंदर, जनता के अंदर जो एक बैचैनी है उसको काउन्टर करने के लिए उसके पास इसके अलावा जवाब नहीं है और नानइश्यूज पर लोगों को लगा कर, ताकि लोग इसके मजहबी मुबाहसे और इस तरह की चीजों में लगे रहें, एक दूसरे के दर पर आजार रहें और मूल्क में कम्यूनिलिज्म और फिरकापरस्ती बढ़ते रहे और इस तरीके से हुकुमत की नाकामाबियों के ऊपर से उनका ध्यान हट जाय । आज यही सिचूयेशन है । इसलिए मैंने अर्जा किया कि अगर आप इन्टररेस्टेड है मूल्क के डेवलपमेंट के लिए तो आपके लिए जरूरी है कि बजट के अंदर हिन्दुस्तान के फ्युचर से जिस चीज का वास्ता है उसके मुतलिक भी आप खुशूसियत से सोचें और बजट का एक हिस्सा इस मूल्क के अंदर फिरकापरस्ती और कम्यूनल राइट्स के लिए रखें और यह सोचें ये रुकावटें जो गरीबों के रास्ते में खड़ी हैं उनको कैसे दूर किया जाय । बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया ।

†[شری سید احمد هاشمی

(اتر پردیش) : جناب وائس چیرمین صاحب - یہ جو بجٹ پیش کیا گیا ہے - جنرل بجٹ - جس پر ہم ڈسکشن کر رہے ہیں اس سلسلے میں یہ تصویر دکھانے کی کوشش کی جا رہی ہے - کہ یہ بجٹ ایک ایسا اروکھا فیصلہ ہے کہ جو ملک سے غریبی کو دور کر دیگا - آج تو پروپیگنڈہ کی دنیا ہے - حکومت کے ہاتھ میں سارے رسورسیز ہیں - پروپیگنڈہ سے جیسی تصویر پیش کی جائیگی ویسی ہی تصویر لوگوں کو سمجھانے کیلئے سامنے لائی جائیگی اور اس کے لئے وہ ویسی ہی کوشش کر سکتے ہیں - لیکن شکل یہ ہے کہ عام غریب آدمی کی فیلنگ یہ ہے کہ یہ جو بجٹ پیش کیا جاتا ہے - یہ تو ایک فارملٹی پوری کرنے کے لئے پیش کیا جاتا ہے - ورنہ صحیح بات تو یہ ہے کہ اس سے پہلے ہی غریبوں کا گلا کاٹ لیا جاتا ہے - چنانچہ اس دفعہ بھی یہی ہوا - آج کئی سالوں سے یہ کنوینشن پڑ گیا ہے - اس دفعہ بھی بجٹ سے پہلے آپکی جو ضروری چیزیں تھیں ان کے دام بڑھا دئے گئے - آپ جانتے ہیں کہ پہلے کسی زمانہ میں غلہ کا نرخ بڑھا تو ساری چیزوں کے دام بڑھ جاتے تھے - آج سچویشن یہ ہے کہ ٹرانسپورٹ کے دام بڑھ گئے تو ساری چیزوں کے دام بڑھ جائیں گے -

†[] Translation in Arabic Script

بٹور لئے - اور اس طریقہ سے پارلیمنٹ کی اجازت کے بغیر دو ہزار آٹھ سو تراسی کروڑ روپیہ جمع کر لیا گیا - اس کو اگر بجٹ میں ڈالتے تو ہا ہا کار مچ گیا ہوتا - لیکن آپ نے نہایت چالاکی کے ساتھ بجٹ کے پہلے ہی ان کے دام بڑھا دئے - اس کے باوجود دلچسپ بات یہ ہے کہ آپ کو شاید یاد ہوگا کہ ایک مرتبہ اس بجٹ سیشن کا اعلان کیا گیا تھا کہ ۱۷ تاریخ کو ہوگا - لیکن اخباروں میں آجانے کے باوجود یہ تردید ہو گئی کہ ۱۷ سے نہیں ۲۰ سے ہو رہا ہے ..... (مداخلت) .... اخباروں میں باقاعدہ اس طرح کا آیا تھا کہ بجٹ سیشن ہوگا - فرم طریقہ سے آیا تھا کہ بجٹ سیشن شوروع ہورہا ہے - وہ محض آپ نے اس لئے ٹالے کیا - تاریخ کو اکسٹینڈ کیا - کہ اس طرح سے بجٹ سیشن کا اعلان کرنے کے بعد کوئی آرڈیننس لاتے تو لوگوں کو اعتراض ہوتا کہ یہ بجٹ سیشن کے اعلان کے بعد دام کیوں بڑھائے گئے - اس لئے آپ نے اس تاریخ کو بڑھا دیا - لیکن باوجود اس کے کہ سارا کھیل کھیلا گیا اور ان ڈیموکریٹک طریقہ سے آپ نے دو ہزار آٹھ سو تراسی کروڑ روپیہ آپ نے بجٹ سے پہلے ہی عوام کی جیب سے نکال لیا - اس کے باوجود بھی چار ہزار چار سو نوے کروڑ روپئے کے گھاٹے کا بجٹ ہے اس کو آپ کیسے پورا کریں گے - ظاہر ہے کہ قرض لیں

[شری سید احمد ہاشمی : جاری]
آپ نے پٹرول کے - کھاد کے - دام بڑھا دئے - چاول گیہوں کے دام بڑھا دئے - نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ غریب جو پورے سال انتظار کرتا رہا ہے - کہ اس دفعہ اس بجٹ میں ہمارے لئے کیا ہو رہا ہے - سوچتا رہتا ہے کہ اس کے بعد ہماری زندگی کتنی سستی بنے گی - اس کو ایک مرتبہ پھر ناامیدی - اور مایوسی کا منہہ دیکھنا پڑ رہا ہے -

ہو سکتا ہے کہ آپ نے ٹی - وی - کے دام کچھ کم کر دئے ہوں - اگر اس کے دام کچھ بڑھ بھی جاتے تو وہ اس کو خرید سکتا تھا - لیکن ایک غریب جسکی جیب میں پانچ پیسے نہ ہو - اگر اسکے لئے ضروری چیزوں کا دام ایک پیسہ بھی بڑھ جائے تو وہ چھ پیسہ کی چیز نہیں خرید سکتا - میں بتلادوں کہ جس بجٹ کی بہت چرچا ہو رہی ہے - اس بجٹ سے پہلے ہی ان - ڈیموکریٹک طریقہ پر - غیر جمہوری طریقہ پر - پٹرولیم کے دام بڑھائے گئے اور آٹھ سو کروڑ روپیہ اس سے حکومت کو فائدہ ہوا - کھاد پر کچھ سب سڈی کم کر کے اس کے دام بڑھائے گئے - اور چھ سو کروڑ روپیہ حکومت نے جمع کر لیا - ..... (مداخلت) ..... یہ صحیح ہے کہ غریبوں کی جیب میں کچھ اتنا نہیں ہے - آپ کے کوئلے کے دام بڑھنے سے حکومت کی جیب میں چار سو پانچ کروڑ روپئے گئے - اور جناب والا ریل کا کرایہ بڑھا - اس سے اٹھتر کروڑ روپئے

ہے - انکم اینڈ ایکسپنڈیچر دیکھتی ہے - تو معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ سوشلزم کا پتہ نہیں - صبح چراغ جل گیا تو شام کو جلے گا کہ نہیں - صبح کھانا مل گیا تو شام کو ملے گا یا نہیں - اس کا لوگوں میں اطمینان نہیں -

آپ کہتے ہیں کہ آپ نے غریبی ہٹانے کیلئے آپنے بہت سے افرتس کئے ہیں - اور بڑی کنجائش رکھی ہے - لیکن میں بتاؤں کہ یہ بھی ایک دھوکا ہے - لاسٹ ائیر کے بجٹ کے مقابلہ میں اس بجٹ کے اندر آپ نے پچاس پرسینٹ رقم زیادہ خرچ کرنے کی کنجائش رکھی ہے - لیکن کیا پچاس پرسینٹ چیزوں کا دام نہیں بڑھ گیا - ایک پروجیکٹ آپ ایک دفعہ منظور کرتے ہیں اور اس کے دام اگلے سال دوگنے ہو جاتے ہیں - اسی طریقہ سے آپ نے کہا ہے کہ پچاس پرسینٹ لاسٹ ائیر کے مقابلہ کے اندر آپ نے زیادہ رقم خرچ کرنے کے لئے رکھی ہے - لیکن چیزوں کے جو دام بڑھتے ہیں اس کے اندر وہ صرف ۲۰ پرسینٹ ہی رہیگا - اس طرح سے یہ ایک دھوکا ہے - جس کو آپ شاید یہ کہتے ہیں کہ غریبوں کی مدد کر رہے ہیں -

آپ نے ٹیکس فری رقم ۵ ہزار سے بڑھاکر ۲۰ ہزار کر دی - ان ایکسپکٹڈ ماماٹع کی رقم ۵ ہزار سے دس ہزار کر دی - لیکن غریبوں کو دھوکا دیتے

[شری سید احمد ہاشمی : جاری]

گئے اور ایکسچیکر نے کہا ہے کہ یہ قرض دس ہزار کروڑ روپیہ تک چلا جائے گا -

میں ایک بات اور کہدوں کہ آپ نے ڈائریکٹ ٹیکسیز اور ان ڈائریکٹ ٹیکسیز کے اندر بہت فرق کر دیا - ڈائریکٹ ٹیکسیز چار سو ستاسی کروڑ روپئے رکھے گئے ہیں - یہ کس کی جیب سے جاتے ہیں - جنتا کی - غریب کی جیب سے جاتے ہیں جب کہ ان ڈائریکٹ ٹیکسیز صرف ۲۱ کروڑ روپئے رکھے گئے ہیں - آپ نے سامنے یہ کنسڈریشن تھا - کہ گویا پونجیپتیوں اور سرمایہ داروں کو جتنی پروٹیکشن آپ دے سکتے ہیں ، دیں - اور عوام کی جیب کے اوپر جتنا ڈاکہ ڈال سکتے ہیں - ڈالیں - آپ نے کمپنیوں کو چھوٹ دی ہے - دوسرے ملکوں میں زیادہ سے زیادہ مال ایکسپورٹ کریں - اس کے لئے سہولیت دی ہے - یہاں کے ملٹی نیشنلس کو چھوٹ دی ہے - ظاہر ہے کہ اس سے جس طرح کا واتاورن اس ملک کے اندر بنے گا اس سے ہندوستان کے غریب مایوس ہیں - کہ اس دیش کے اندر سوشلزم نام کی کوئی چیز آنے والی نہیں ہے - آپ پانچ سالہ پلان کا نعرہ لگا رہے ہیں - بجٹ میں آپ یہ اعلان کر رہے ہیں کہ یہاں سوشلزم آرہا ہے لیکن جب عوام بازار میں جاتی ہے - جب جنتا کی ایک فیملی اپنے مہینے کا بجٹ دیکھتی ہے اور اپنی گھریستی دیکھتی

کیسے ملک سے بے روزگاری دور ہوگی - اسی طریقہ سے نان ڈیولپمینٹ پلان میں بچت کے نام پر بھرتی کو تو بلند کیا ہی گیا ہے - ساتھ ہی لوگوں کو روزگار سے نکالا جا رہا ہے - فوڈ کارپوریشن میں ساڑھے چھ ہزار مزدوروں کو نکالا جا رہا ہے - بہت ساری پبلک انڈرٹیکنگز کے اندر مزدوروں کو نکالنے کے پروگرام بن چکے ہیں - ان سب باتوں کے باوجود نان ڈیولپمینٹ کے کاموں میں اضافہ ہوا ہے - ایک طرف تو یہ حالت ہے دوسری طرف بےروزگار جوانوں کو روزگار مہیا نہیں ہو رہا ہے - یہ ظلم ہے - اس کو ختم کیا جانا چاہئے -

آپ نے آئی - ایم - ایف - اور ورلڈ بنک کے دباؤ میں آکر بہت سی چیزوں کی سبسڈی کم کر دی ہے - لیکن پھر بھی سبسڈی پر خرچ ہونے والی رقم میں کے اندر کمی نہیں ہوئی ہے - اضافہ ہی ہوا ہے - آپ نے امپورٹ کی اسکیم بھی بنائی ہے - یہ رقم سنہ ۸۶ - ۱۹۸۵ میں ۳۹۵۶ کروڑ روپئے تھی مگر سنہ ۸۷ - ۱۹۸۶ میں یہ رقم ۴۷۴۱ کروڑ روپئے ہو جائیگی - اس کے اندر میں ایک بات پوائنٹ آؤٹ کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جن چیزوں میں آپ نے سبسڈی کم کی ہے - اس میں خوراک کی چیزیں بھی ہیں - ظاہر ہے کہ اس سے قیمتیں بڑھے گیں - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اگر عوام کو سامنے رکھکر کوئی فیصلہ ہوتا تو یہ صورتحال پیدا نہ ہوتی - خوراک کی چیزوں میں

[شری سید احمد ہاشمی : جاری]

ہے - ابھی میں نے کہا کہ ایسے نان - ڈیولپمینٹل کاموں کے اندر آپ نے کیا کیا -

بچت کے نام پر آپ نے یہ کام کیا ہے کہ کلرکوں اور چپراسیوں کو بھرتی پر روک لگا دی ہے ایک طرف تو ہمارے دیش میں بے روزگاری ہے - ان ایمپلائی مانٹ ہیں ور انکی تعداد دن بدن بڑھتی جارہی ہے - دوسری طرف آپنے اس طرح کا بین لگا رکھا ہے - میں تو یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر آپ ہمارے بے روزگار نوجوانوں کو روزگار نہیں دے سکتے ہیں تو ان کو بے روزگاری کا بھتہ دیجئے - جس طرح سے ویلفیئر کنٹریز میں اور نان ویلفیئر کنٹریز میں ہوتا ہے - وہاں پر بے روزگاروں کو بے روزگاری کا بھتہ دیا جاتا ہے - اسی طرح ہمارے ملک میں بھی ہونا چاہئے - آپ غریبوں کو غریبی کی سیما سے اوپر اٹھانے کی بات کرتے ہیں - لیکن غریب لوگ یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ وہ غریبی کی سیما سے اور بھی نیچے جا رہے ہیں - اس لئے جب تک آپ ہمارے میں بے روزگار نوجوانوں کو بے روزگاری کا بھتہ نہیں دیتے ہیں - جب تک اس ملک کی غریبی نہیں ہٹ سکتی ہے - یہ بہت اہم معاملہ ہے - کو آپ کو گہرائی سے کنسیڈر کرنا چاہئے - ایک طرف تو آپ ان لوگوں کو بے روزگاری کا بھتہ نہیں دیتے ہیں اور دوسری طرف آپ کی فائنینس منسٹری نے نئی بھرتی پر روک لگا دی ہے - اس صورت حال میں

کہ ملک کے اندر اس بجٹ کے اندر ایک مد کمیونلزم کے لئے اور فرقہ پرستی کی جڑیں ملک سے اکھاڑنے کے لئے ہونی چاہئے - بجٹ میں اس کے لئے ایلوکیشن ہونا چاہئے - اسکو صرف ہوم منسٹری کے اوپر نہیں چھوڑنا چاہئے بلکہ اس کے لئے ایک پراویژن رکھنا چاہئے - یہ بات بہت ضروری ہے اور اہم ہے - ظاہر ہے کہ آج ۳۸ - ۳۷ سالوں کے اندر جو ہندوستان کی تصویر بن رہی ہے اس کے اندر یہی ہے کہ اگر کوئی غریبی سے بھرنے کی کوشش کرے - یا اگے بڑھنے کی کوشش کرے تو اس میں جہاں اس کو بہت ساری رکاوٹیں ہیں وہیں ملک کی صورتحال - ملک کا واتاورن ایسا ہے کہ وہ اطمینان سے اپنی زندگی گزار نہیں سکتا - ابھی ایک مہینہ کے اندر جو صورتحال پو - پی - کے اندر اور دیش کے مختلف حصوں میں ہوئی - آج حکومت کا یہ ہے کہ وہ نان ایشیوز کے اوپر جلتا کو لگا رہی ہے اور اس طریقہ سے عوام کے اندر - جلتا کے اندر جو ایک بے چینی ہے اس کو کاؤنٹر کرنے کے لئے اسکے پاس اسکے علاوہ جواب نہیں ہے - اور نان ایشیوز پر لوگوں کو لگا کر - تاکہ لوگ اسکے مذہبی معاملے میں اور اس طرح کی چیزوں میں لگے رہیں - ایک دوسرے پر آزار رہیں اور ملک میں کمیونلزم اور فرقہ پرستی بڑھتی رہے - اور اس طریقہ سے حکومت

[شری سید احمد ہاشمی :

سبسڈی کم کرنے پر بھی جو سبسڈی ۱۹۸۵ - ۸۶ میں ۱۱ کروڑ روپئے تھی وہ بڑھکر ۱۷ کروڑ روپئے ہو گئی ہے - اس کے ساتھ ساتھ گیہوں چاول کے دام بھی بڑھگئے ہیں - آپ نے بہت سی چیزوں کے لئے اپنے بجٹ میں پراپوز کیا ہے - اور بہت ساری ڈائریکشن بھی دی ہیں - آپ نے یہ یقین دلانے کی کوشش کی ہے کہ آپ ہندوستان میں چار چاند لگا دیں گے اور کہا ہے کہ اس ملک میں غریبی کی حالت نہیں رہے گی - ایک بات میں بہت ونمرتا سے پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آپ نے بہت سی چیزوں میں ایلوکیشن کی ہے - لیکن ہاؤسنگ کا مسئلہ سب سے اہم مسئلہ ہے - اسکی طرف خاص دھیان دینے کی ضرورت ہے - ہندوستان کے اندر ہاؤسنگ کا مسئلہ بہت ایکویٹ ہوتا جا رہا ہے - آج حالت یہ ہو گئی ہے کہ ہاؤسنگ کا مسئلہ حل کرنے کے نام پر غریبوں کے مکان جلا دئے جاتے ہیں - ان کے مکانوں کو اجاڑا جاتا ہے - آپ کے مکان بنانے کا فائدہ تبھی ہوگا جب آپ غریبوں کے لئے سستے مکان بنائیں گے - ان کو اس بات کا بھروسہ ہونا چاہئے کہ وہ اپنے مکانوں کے اندر اپنے بیوی بچوں کے ساتھ زندہ رہ سکیں - میں یہ بات اس لئے کہہ رہا ہوں - کہ جہاں بہت سے ڈائریکشنس کے اندر آپ یہ کہہ رہے ہیں کہ ہم ہندوستان کو جنت بنانے جا رہے ہیں - ہم یہ کہیں گے

کی ناکامیوں کے اوپر انکا دھیان ہٹ جائے - آج یہی سچویشن ہے - اسلئے میں نے عرض کیا - کہ اگر آپ انڈرسٹڈ ہیں ملک کے ڈیولپمنٹ کے لئے تو آپ کے لئے یہ ضروری ہے کہ بجٹ کے اندر ہندوستان کے فیوچر سے وابستہ جو چیز ہے اس کے متعلق بھی آپ خصوصیت سے سوچیں - اور بجٹ کا ایک حصہ اس ملک کے اندر فرقہ پرستی اور کمیونل ٹنشس کیلئے رکھیں - اور یہ سوچیں وہ رکاوٹیں جو غریبوں کے راستے میں کھڑی ہیں ان کو کیسے دور کیا جائے - بہت بہت شکریہ -]

श्रीमती कैलाशपति (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो 1986–87 का बजट प्रस्तुत किया है उसका समर्थन करने के लिये मैं खड़ी हुई हूं। इस बजट में निरीक्षण और निगरानी पर विशेष बल दिया गया है। इसके लिए हमें अपने प्रबन्ध को क्षमता बढ़ानी चाहिए और कड़ा परिश्रम करना होगा और अपने व्यय पर पूरी निगरानी रखनी होगी। विकास की गति को तेज करना और देश से निर्धनता का उन्मूलन करना इस बजट का लक्ष्य है। यह बजट गरीबों को काम और ऋण देकर साधन उपलब्ध कराकर उनको अपना पारिवारिक बजट संतुलित करने में मदद देता है। मान्यवर, निर्धनता उन्मूलन कार्यक्रम के आवंटन में 50 फीसदी की वृद्धि की गयी है। राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार योजना के लिए आपने उदारतापूर्वक प्रावधान किया है। ग्रामों के विकास के लिए ग्रामीण रोजगार गारंटी योजना में इस वर्ष 26.4 करोड़ रोजगार कार्य दिवसों के लिए व्यवस्था है। इस पर कुल केंद्रीय परिव्यय 633 करोड़ रुपये होगा। एकीकृत ग्रामीण विकास कार्यक्रम के लिए 1986-87 में 428 करोड़ रुपये की व्यवस्था है। सबसे अधिक अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजाति तथा बंधुआ मजदूरों के लिए आवास की व्यवस्था करने के लिए धन की व्यवस्था की गई है। यह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण है। शहरी गरीबों को ऋण के लिए बैंकों के जरिये उनको रोजगार देने की नयी स्कीम शुरू की गई है। गरीबों के लिए दुर्घटना बीमा है और जिस प्रकार से नगरपालिकाओं के सफाई कर्मचारियों और रेल कुलियों के लिए किया गया है वह भी सारे देश में लागू होना चाहिए। ग्रामीण लोगों के आर्थिक विकास के लिए जिला स्तर पर इसका कार्यान्वयन होता है लेकिन इसका नियंत्रण गैर सरकारी एजेंसियों के माध्यम से होना चाहिए।

मान्यवर, माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी ने महिलाओं के लिए समाज और महिला कल्याण मंत्रालय अलग से बनाया है। इस मंत्रालय द्वारा कार्यान्वित नीतियों और कार्यक्रमों का मुख्य उद्देश्य विशेषकर समाज से कमजोर वर्गों के बच्चों, महिलाओं, विकलांगों और वृद्ध व्यक्तियों के लिए निवारक और विकासात्मक सेवाएं प्रदान करना तथा कल्याणकारी नीतियां और कार्यक्रम बनाना, सामाजिक कानून बनाना, विभिन्न कल्याण योजनायें कार्यान्वित करना, स्वैच्छिक संगठनों की सहायता करना, कल्याणकारी कार्यकलापों में समन्वय स्थापित करना, अनुसंधान और मूल्यांकन कार्य प्रायोजित करना तथा समाज कल्याण कार्यकर्त्ताओं को प्रशिक्षित करना जैसे कार्य शामिल हैं। अपने समूचे प्रयासों से मंत्रालय पूरे देश में स्वयंसेवी संगठनों को सक्रिय सहयोग देता रहा है।

शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में दो योजनाएं उल्लेखनीय हैं। उच्च-कोटि की तथा उत्तम शिक्षा प्रदान करने के उद्देश्य से देश के प्रत्येक जिले में माडल स्कूल स्थापित करने का निर्णय किया है। इस योजना के लिए 1986-87 वर्ष में 25 करोड़ रुपये की व्यवस्था है। दूरवर्ती तथा पिछड़े इलाकों के छात्रों को उच्च शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में समान अवसर प्रदान करने के उद्देश्य से एक राष्ट्रीय खुला विश्वविद्यालय स्थापित किया गया है जिसके लि वर्ष 1986–87

[श्रीमती कैलाशपति]

के लिए 7.5 करोड़ रुपये की व्यवस्था की है। मान्यवर, मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को बधाई देते हुए कहती हूं गरीबों, हरिजनों तथा पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों ने इस बजट का स्वागत किया है। यह बजट गरीबों के लिए बहुत ही लाभप्रद है। इस देश में सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र का बड़ा महत्व है। इस क्षेत्र मे 40 हजार करोड़ से ज्यादा पूंजी लगी है और फिर भी घाटा होता है। यह सोचने की बात है। पब्लिक सैक्टर पर सख्ती की जाए जिसने इस देश में प्रॉफिट जेनेरेटिंग व्यवस्था कायम हो सके। बिजली, इस्पात, उर्वरक, पेट्रोलियम, पेट्रोकेमिकल्ज के निर्माण के लिए प्राइवेट सैक्टर को भी प्रोत्साहित किया जाना चाहिये। किसान ने इस देश का मस्तक ऊंचा किया है। इसलिए उन पर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये, बजाय सबसिडी के बुनियादी चीजों पर बल दिया जाना चाहिये। प्रत्येक विकास खण्ड में तीन-तीन, चार-चार मण्डियां स्थापित की जानी चाहियें। किसानों के गांवों को सड़कों से जोड़ा जाए और उन्हें बिजली, पानी तथा बाजार की सुविधाएं मुहैया की जाएं। किसानों को उनके उत्पादन का उचित दाम मिलेगा तो स्वतः वे उत्साहित हो कर उत्पादन बढ़ाएंगे।

मान्यवर, मैं अंत में अपने लखनऊ जिले के मलीहाबाद की तरफ ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूं। मलीहाबाद का दशहरी आम पूरे देश में ही नहीं बल्कि पूरे वर्ल्ड में प्रसिद्ध है। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी हाउस में नहीं हैं, जब वे उत्तर प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर थे उसको वहां पर उन्होंने मैंगो बेल्ट घोषित किया था। मलीहाबाद जो है हमारे देश में ही नहीं विदेशों में दशहरी आम के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है लेकिन आज वहां न तो उनके लिए मंडी की व्यवस्था है और न उनके लिए समान ले जाने के लिए एक्सपोर्ट और इम्पोर्ट करने का कोई साधन है। इसलिये मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहूंगी कि वे मैंगो बेल्ट को जल्दी से जल्दी घोषित करवाएं जिसमें किसानों को उससे मिलने वाली सुविधाएं मिल सकें। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करती हूं। धन्यवाद।

श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र (बिहार) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट पर चर्चा हो रही है। इस चर्चा में संसद् के अन्दर एक वातावरण दिखाई दे रहा है। बजट का एक और पक्ष भी है, जब मैं बाजार में जाता हूं, चाहे विरोध पक्ष के सदस्य हों या सत्ता पक्ष के सदस्य हों जीवन की जरूरत से लगी हुई चीजें जब बाजार में खरीदनी पड़ती हैं तो वे सत्ता पक्ष को और विरोध पक्ष को सब को एक जैसी दिखाई देती हैं और सब के मुंह से वहां पर एक ही आवाज दिखाई देती है। बजट आया, संसद अधिवेशन का सम्मन हो चुका था तब अचानक घोषणा पढ़ने को मिली कोयले पर, खाद पर, पेट्रोलियम गुड्ज के ऊपर कुल मिला कर लगभग ढाई हजार करोड़ रुपये की कर की वृद्धि हुई। मेरे मन में यह आने लगा कि इसके बाद बजट आने वाला है या सप्लीमेंटरी बजट आने वाला है उसी के साथ एक और चित्र सामने आ गया, पांच सितारा होटलों में लगने वाली चीजें बटर टोस्ट सेंकने की मशीन, अंडा काटने, उबालने की मशीन, मांस और मांस से हड्डी छीलने और काटने की मशीन, पांच सितारा होटलों के ग्लास धोने की मशीन आदि आदि 42 ऐसे आइटम हैं जिनके ऊपर पहले से चली आ रही कस्टम ड्यूटी छोड़ दी गई। दो करोड़ का उनको मुनाफा दे दिया गया। इस अवस्था में यह बजट आया। लोक सभा में वित्त मंत्री जी का भाषण मैं राज्य सभा की गेलरी में बैठकर दो घंटे 15 मिनट तक सुनता रहा। इसमें सन्देह नहीं है कि काफी बलावाजी के साथ बजट रखा गया। मैं एक समाचार पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूं। वित्त मंत्री जी तो नहीं हैं लेकिन आदरणीय पुजारी जी हैं। आप जरा इस पर प्रकाश डालने की कोशिश करेंगे। समाचार 12 फरवरी को छापा गया है। वित्त मंत्री श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह जी बम्बई में एक राज चन्दन नाम के पत्रकार से बात कर रहे थे। उन्होंने कहा इस बात पर उनको अफसोस है कि कृत्रिम धागा उद्योग को उत्पादन कर के

रूप में मिला एक अरब 30 करोड़ की राहत का लाभ उपभोक्ताओं को नहीं पहुंचा । एक और सज्जन जो इण्डियन मैनुफैक्चरर्स एसोसियेशन के सीनियर वाइस चेयरमैन हैं मिस्टर सुदर्शन सरीन । उन्होंने कहा है कि उत्पादन शुल्क की सीमा में छोटे उद्योगों में 1984–85 के बजट में 30 लाख रुपये की राहत थी वह घटा कर 1985–86 में 20 लाख रुपये कर दी गई इसके कारण भारी नुकसान हुआ और अनेक छोटे यूनिट और इकाइयां सिक हो गई और अब वह घटा कर 7.5 पर लाकर रख दी गई । महोदय, मेरी दृष्टि से बजट को आज की भारत की परिस्थिति में क्या लक्ष्य होना चाहिए था ? देश के ऐसे भाग जो बहुत पिछड़े हुए है वे पीछे छूट गये हैं, पिछड़ेपन के रोग से ग्रसित हो गये ने, वह रोग युक्त कैसे हो, वे पिछड़े हुए इलाके पिछड़े न माने जाएं, वे समान रूप से देश को प्रगति के स्तर पर कैसे खड़े हों बजट का यह लक्ष्य रखना चाहिये थोड़ा । देश के अन्दर कहीं भी बेकारी डेरा जमाए हुए है, यह कैसे दूर हो । मैं जिस राज्य से आता हूं लाइव रजिस्टर के ऊपर पढ़े लिखे लड़कों के 11 लाख नाम दर्ज हैं । 50 लाख से कम ऐसे नहीं हैं जो इम्पलायमेंट एक्सचेंज के दफ्तरों में पहुंचते ही नहीं हैं तीसरा लक्ष्य होना चाहिये कि पूरा देश आर्थिक मायने में भी आत्म निर्भर हो । अब अगर दिशा ठीक रहे तब तो बजट ठीक बन सकता है । मैं इसमें बहुत नहीं जाना चाहता हूं । कितना कर बढ़ाएं किन्तु छोड़ें, किस पर छोड़ें, किस पर लगाएं, सम्पूर्ण रूप से भारत आर्थिक दिशा में कितना प्रगति कर रहा है, बेकारी कितनी घट रही है, पिछड़ापन कितना दूर हो रहा है, इसके आंकड़े लेकर सरकार को खड़ा होना चाहिए था । भारतवर्ष में कितने बेकार हैं, कितने शिक्षित बेकार हैं, अर्ध शिक्षित कितने बेकार है, इसके आंकड़े पहले आते थे, लेकिन सरकार ने पता नहीं क्यों यह आंकड़े प्रस्तुत करना बन्द कर दिया है । मैं राज्य वित्त मंत्री जी से आग्रह करना चाहूंगा कि अगर आपको इन आंकड़ों को जानकारी हो शिक्षित और अर्ध शिक्षित बेकारों के दोनों के आंकड़ों को आप एक बार संसद के सामने रखने का साहस करें । अच्छा हो कि राज्यों के अनुसार बेकारी कहां कितनी है इसका उल्लेख करें । अगर इस समय आप बजट में सुधार नहीं कर सकें तो एक दिशा तो मिलेगी और अगले वर्ष का बजट आपको इसको ध्यान में रख कर बनाना होगा । महोदय, आज उसका हिसाब नहीं रखा जा रहा है । मैं यह नहीं बोलना चाहता कि हम आई० एम० एफ० के दबाव में कितने हैं, वर्ल्ड बैंक के दबाव में कितने हैं, बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों के दबाव म कितने हैं । बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों के लिए दरवाजे हम खोल रहे हैं । वह तो साफ दिखाई दे रहा है । अगर कुछ करना हो, तो साहस के साथ एक-दो जिलों का सर्वे किया जाए, एक-दो शांतों का सर्वे किया जाए कि उन प्रांतों के अन्दर लगे हुए छोटे उद्योग , हैंडलम वर्क्स, उनके काम में कितनी शक्ति आई है या उनके साथ का सत्यापन हुआ है ।

आप कृत्रिम धागे पर तो छूट दे रहे हैं । कृत्रिम धागा कौन बनाता है ? क्या मेरठ के मऊ गांव के, बिहार शरीफ के भागलपुर के बेचारे गरीब जुलाहे अपने छोटे से करघे के ऊपर कृत्रिम धागा बनाते हैं ? आप ने रूई से बनने वाले धागे में कितना छूट बढ़ाई है ? उसकी व्यवस्था क्या कर दी है ? उस पर आपने टैक्स लगा कर बढ़ा दिया और अब आप इसका अंदाज हिसाब नहीं करते हैं कि पहले से अलग-अलग राज्य में, अलग-अलग क्षेत्र में जो हैंडलूम में लगे हुए थे, हाथ-करघा में जो लगे हुए थे, उनकी संख्या एक-दो नहीं है, जब एक-एक राज्य में खोजना शुरू करेंगे, तो लाखों की तादाद में उनकी संख्या मिलेगी ।

महोदय, उनकी दुर्दशा पर नजर नहीं जा रही है । पांच सितारा होटल के अन्तर्गत 42 चीजों पर से कस्टम ड्यूटी हटा ली जाए, लेकिन जहां लाखों-लाख गरीब बनकर और उनके सारे परिवार की जिंदगी जिनके ऊपर निर्भर करती है, दृष्टि यहां नहीं जा रही है । आज हम गांधी के देश के अन्दर चल रहे हैं, । गांधी पूज्य महात्मा गांधी क्या हमको पालिएस्टर पहनने के लिए बताये थे । प्रतीक के

[श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र]

रूप में उन्होंने चर्खा और तकली चलाई थी। एक ही अर्थ है कि भारत पांच लाख गांवों वाले देश की आर्थिक-निर्भरता तो तब बनेगी जब गांव में उद्योग दिखाई दे। पर आर्थिक आत्म निर्भरता दिखाई नहीं देती है :

हां उसके साथ आधुनिकीकरण की आवश्यकता है। बिजली आज यहां लाईफ लाईन बन गई है। गावों को भी अपने पैर पर खड़ा करने के लिए बिजली चाहिए, सड़क चाहिए, पानी चाहिए। क्या प्रबंध किया है आपने इस बजट में? कुछ लेखा-जोखा है एक वर्ष के अन्दर, अलग-अलग प्रांतों में जितना पावर जेनरेशन है, उसमें आप कितनी वृद्धि करने जा रहे हैं?

अलग-अलग प्रांतों में जो सड़कों की दुर्दशा दिखाई दे रही है, उन सड़कों में कितना वृद्धि होने जा रही है। अलग-अलग प्रांतों में आपके जो क्षेत्र सूखे और प्यासे हैं, उनको पानी दिलाने के लिए आप क्या कर रहे है? मैंने पिछली बार भी कहा था कि बड़ा दुर्भाग्य चल रहा है, पहले अंग्रेज थे, उन्हें उपनिवेशवाद चलाना था, दरिद्र क्षेत्र, दरिद्र जनता, दरिद्र इलाके, उन्हें स्वाभिमान के साथ आत्म-निर्भर होने के लिए अंग्रेज अवसर नहीं देना चाहते थे।

उसी उपनिवेशवाद की कहानी अब भी चल रही है। महोदय, देश स्वतंत्र हुआ, मैंने पिछली बार कहा था कि भारत के राज्य आज तीन श्रेणियों में बटे हुए दिखाई देते हैं--तीन श्रेणियों में एक पिछड़े हुए राज्य, दूसरे कुछ आगे बढ़े हुए राज्य और तीसरे ऐसे पहाड़ी इलाके के राज्य जिनकी अपनी इकानमी कुछ नहीं है, 90-95 प्रतिशत वह केंद्र की सहायता के ऊपर निर्भर करते हैं।

देश भर से आप धन तो निचोड़ते हैं, अपने हाथ में इकट्ठा करते हैं, रिसोर्सेज अपने हाथ में, नियमानुसार रिसोर्सेज की शक्ति आपने हाथ में केंद्रित है, लेकिन आप राज्यों को काम करने के लिए जो कुछ देते हैं, ग्रांट-इन-एड देते हैं और साफ्ट लोन देते हैं, स्पेशल अलिसटेंस देते हैं, देने का नियम क्या है, कभी आपने विचार किया है? एक पहले से रोगी मर रहा है और एक तंदुरुस्त व्यक्ति दोनों का एक भोजन नहीं हो सकता, दोनों का पोषण एक सा नहीं हो सकता। महोदय देश में किसी काल में

5 P.M गाडगिल फार्मूला शुरू हुआ था। गाडगिल फार्मूले में कई बड़े अनौचित्य हुए हैं, पर आप पुनर्विचार करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। याद रखिए, इसी गाडगिल फार्मूले के चलते-चलते देश के राज्य तीन श्रेणियों में बंट गए हैं। अब जो पिछड़े हुए राज्य हैं उसी फार्मूले के अंतर्गत यह है कि जिस राज्य का अपना जितना रिसोर्सेज बढ़ेगा उसी के आधार पर केन्द्रीय सरकार के द्वारा ग्रांट इन एड उसके पास जायेगी। किसी राज्य की आबादी बहुत बड़ी हो, किसी की समस्यायें अनेक हों, किसी राज्य के अन्दर विकास हुआ हो अथवा नहीं हुआ हो, अगर उसी फार्मूले के अंतर्गत सहायता प्राप्त होती रहेगी तो राज्य अपनी कमर सीधी करके कैसे खड़े होंगे और कब खड़े होंगे? महोदय, एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। मेरा यह सीधा आरोप है कि जब तक आप गाडगिल फार्मूले ढोते रहेंगे तब तक पिछड़े हुए राज्यों के साथ किसी कीमत पर न्याय नहीं होगा। नेशनल डिवैल्पमेंट काऊंसिल में विचार हुआ था, उत्थान के लिए, क्योंकि यह नियम कभी उन राज्यों को आर्थिक रूप से स्वतंत्र भारत का प्रतीक बनाकर खड़ा नहीं कर सकता जब तक कि यह फार्मूला चलता रहेगा। मैं पुरानी बातों को दोहराना नहीं चाहता। अब देखिए बार-बार एक राज्य से अपने को जोड़कर मैं विचार नहीं करना चाहता हूं, लेकिन राज्य मंत्री महोदय, आप शायद कल्पना नहीं करेंगे, पैर रखते ही बिहार में गाली खाने शुरू हो जाते हैं। मेरे पास वहां के नागरिकों का एक इतना बड़ा चिट्ठा है। उसमें तीसों प्वायंट ऐसे लिखे हुए हैं और वह संसद् सदस्यों को गाली भरे हुए है। लेकिन यह गाली कोरी गाली नहीं है वेदना से भरी हुई है। मैं बिहार से आता हूं। आपने कभी हिसाब लगाया है कि आप वहां से कितना खनिज

निकाल रहे हैं और उसे देते क्या हैं ? आप कितनी रायल्टी देते हैं ? मैं किसी प्रान्त पर आक्षेप नहीं करता । थोड़े दिनों के अन्दर अगर आसाम के माध्यम से आने वाला क्रूड आयल तीन-चार बार अगर उसकी रायल्टी में संशोधन हो सकता है तो 18-20 हजार करोड़ रुपए का मिनरल्ज हर साल आप बिहार से निकाल रहे हैं, आपने कभी सोचा है कि आप कितनी रायल्टी दे रहे हैं ? क्या उसमें कोई संशोधन नहीं हो सकता ? उस पर कोई विचार नहीं हो सकता ? आज एटामिक एस्टैब्लिशमेंट की चर्चा तो बहुत होती है और कभी-कभी इस चर्चा में बिहार का नाम आ जाता है, लेकिन वह किस बात में आता है ? बिहार के अन्दर सिंहभूमि जिले के अन्दर जादूगोड़ा के अन्दर यूरेनियम का भंडार है । आप यूरेनियम निकालते हैं और उसे निकालने के लिए वहां पर आपने एस्टैब्लिशमेंट बनाकर रखा है । केवल इतनी भर चर्चा बिहार के संबंध में आती है । लेकिन आज एटामिक पावर प्लांट की भी चर्चा हो रही है । बिहार में कहां इसको लगाने का आपने तय किया है ? आपने वहां लगाने के लिए क्यों नहीं तय किया ? साढ़े सात करोड़ का बिहार, आज वहां पावर नहीं है, वहां बिजली नहीं है । तीन दिन पहले मैं छपरा में था । एक डाक्टर मित्र के घर पर मैं ठहरा । वहां एक मिनट के लिए बिजली आई और गायब हो गई । रविवार का दिन था । बच्चे रंगीन टेलीविजन देखने के लिए उत्सुक थे । पिछले दो साल के अन्दर रंगीन टेलीविजन को आपने खूब बढ़ाया और इतना कि एक बार टैक्स कम कर दिया । मुझे बचपन की याद आ रही है । बचपन में चाय पीने की आदत नहीं लगती थी । उस समय चाय कंपनियां मुफ्त में सिनेमा दिखाती थीं और चलते समय चाय का पैकेट देती थीं । सिनेमा देखने के लिए जो घेरा बना हुआ होता था वह जब तक गर्म चाय पी नहीं लेते तब तक उन्हें सिनेमा में घुसने नहीं देते थे । इसी तरह रंगीन टेलीविजन का आपने खूब प्रचार किया । और चाय वाली जैसी आदत लग गयी थी, तो इस पर आपने टैक्स बढ़ाया और आज रंगीन टेलीविजन पर टैक्स बढ़ा दिया और टेलीविजन पर बढ़ा दिया । लेकिन मैं इस बढ़े हुए टैक्स का विरोध नहीं कर रहा हूं । इसके लिए बधाई देना चाहता हूं क्योंकि यह सड़ा हुआ रोग हर घर में घुसता जा रहा था, पीढ़ी की पीढ़ी इसमें बर्बाद होती जा रही थी ।

महोदय, मैं बिहार की चर्चा कर रहा था । पावर की स्थिति वहां इतनी खराब है कि छोटे-छोटे लगे हुए उद्योग मर रहे हैं, समाप्त हो रहे हैं, कालेज और स्कूल में पढ़ने वाले विद्यार्थी होस्टल के अन्दर अपनी किताब खोलकर पढ़ नहीं पाते हैं, हास्पीटल के अन्दर डाक्टर लिटाता है आपरेशन की टेबल पर मरीज को, जब उसका पेट चीड़ना शुरू करता है, तब वहां अंधेरा हो जाता है । समस्या यह हो गयी है कि अगर अस्पतालों में जनरेटर नहीं लगाए गए तो आपरेशन होते हुए मरीजों के प्राण भी नहीं बच सकते । मालूम है, कितनी जनरेशन वहां पर आज है ? मुख्यमंत्री कुछ भी जवाब देते हों, मैं भी उसी बिहार से आ रहा हूं, 150 से लेकर 300 मेगावाट के अंदर साढ़े सात करोड़ के बिहार में जनरेशन पावर झूल रहा है, एटोमिक पावर प्लांट लगाने की बात नहीं है एक सुपर थर्मल पावर नहीं है, चारों तरफ से गरमी पैदा करने के बाद, हंगामा करने के बाद केन्द्र की घोषणा हो गयी कि कहलगांव में एक सुपर थर्मल प्लांट बनेगा । कब बनेगा ? इस साल के बजट में आपने उसके अन्दर कितनी राशि रखी है ? एक सुपर थर्मल का पावर प्लांट नहीं है, क्यों नहीं है ? एटोमिक पावर प्लांट वहां पर क्यों नहीं है । मैं जानना चाहूंगा ।

महोदय, केवल इतना ही नहीं है बैंकिंग रिक्रूटमेंट बोर्ड आज भारत के कई राज्यों में, प्रांतों में हो गया है, बिहार से जिनकी आबादी काफी नीचे है, वहां पर भी हो गया है, लेकिन बिहार में अब तक क्यों नहीं है ? इस बोर्ड का सेंटर बिहार में क्यों नहीं स्थापित हो रहा है ? आपने इस पर विचार किया है, इसके लिए कोई बजट में प्रावीजन किया

[श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र]

है ? हार्टीकल्चर इंस्टीट्यूट वहां नहीं है, जबकि इतना बड़ा खेती का इलाका है, क्षेत्र है, नदियां भी हैं, नदियों के ऊपर पानी भी है, लेकिन वह पानी किसान की जमीन पर, खेतों पर आकर नहीं पहुंचता है। हार्टीकल्चर-इंस्टीट्यूट क्यों नहीं बनाया ? आई०आई०टी० जैसा रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट आपने वहां क्यों नहीं बनाया ? सेंट्रल यूनिवर्सिटी एक बिहार में नहीं है, जबकि कई राज्यों में दो-दो, तीन-तीन हैं, लेकिन वहां पर एक सेंट्रल-यूनिवर्सिटी नहीं है। क्या आप बिहार की उपेक्षा नहीं कर रहे हैं, क्यों नहीं आप इसे वहां बनाने का विचार कर रहे ? पेट्रो-केमीकल इंस्टीट्यूट एक नहीं है। मैं दो साल से लगातार आग्रह करता आ रहा हूं कि जुलोजिकल सर्वे आफ इंडिया का एक रीजनल कार्यालय वहां दिया जाय। क्यों नहीं आप बना रहे हैं, क्या तर्क है न बनाने का ? मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं। बिहार में समूचे भारत का 42 प्रतिशत खनिज है, लेकिन आप बिहार में जियो-लोजिकल सर्वे आफ इंडिया का रीजनल आफिस बनाने को तैयार नहीं है। अनेक ऐसी चीजें हैं, अब गिनाने लगूंगा, तो एक बहुत बड़ा लंबा पोथा हो जाएगा।

महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि ऐसी घोर उपेक्षा, ऐसी घोर उपेक्षा, समुदाय की उपेक्षा हो रही है, गरीबों की उपेक्षा हो रही है, किसानों की सब प्रकार से उपेक्षा हो रही है, मजदूरों की उपेक्षा हो रही है, जो नौजवान शिक्षित होकर तैयार हैं, काम मांग रहे हैं काम, आप उनको काम नहीं दे पा रहे हैं। आप यह क्या कर रहे हैं ? टैक्स बढ़ाते चले जा रहे हैं और हम कहेंगे कि टैक्स बढ़ा रहे हैं तो आप कहना शुरू करेंगे हम टैक्स नहीं बढ़ा रहे हैं। सत्ता पक्ष की तरफ से जो भी भाषण देने के लिए उठता है, वह एक बार धन्यवाद देने के लिए उठता है। क्या आप इंकार करेंगे कि ढाई हजार करोड़ के नए टैक्स नहीं लगाए गए ? क्या आप इंकार करेंगे कि 4 हजार करोड़ घाटे का बजट आज भी है और जब-जब घाटे का बजट आप तैयार करते हैं, तो आप अच्छी परह से जानते हैं कि उसका दुष्परिणाम क्या होता है—मुद्रास्थिति होने में कोई रोक नहीं सकेगा। अर्थ-शास्त्रियों ने भी इसको स्वीकार किया है। ए रुपि आफ डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग इन हेंड्रेड टाइम्स वर्स दैन ए रुपि आफ टैक्सेशन, लेकिन आप करते चले जा रहे हैं। कभी कभी आप तर्क देते हैं कि लचीली अर्थ व्यवस्था है। प्रगतिशील देशों में लचीली अर्थ व्यवस्था, घाटे की अर्थ व्यवस्था के अच्छे परिणाम होते हैं लेकिन कुपरिणाम किस प्रकार हो रहे हैं इस को भी देखिये। पेट के अन्दर लोहे की मशीन नहीं जाती। पेट के अन्दर पोलियेस्टर कपड़ा नहीं जाता। पेट के अंदर जाता है चावल गेहूं, दाल साग, सब्जी। दुर्भाग्य है और पहले भी कहा था कि हमारे यहां की अर्थ रचना ऐसी चल रही है कि खेतों पर होने वाले उत्पादन और उस उत्पादन से फिर कारखानों में होने वाले उत्पादन, इन दोनों के दामों में जो बढ़ि हो रही है उन में कोई अनुपात दिखाई नहीं देता। किसान खेत में गल्ला पैदा करता है, गन्ना पैदा करता है, लेकिन उस गन्ने को जब चीनी बन जाती है तो चीनी का दाम जिस ओसत से बढ रहा है गन्ने की कीमत के साथ उस की कोई तुलना नहीं। खेत पर किसान कपास पैदा करता है लेकिन जब वही कपास मिल में रह जाती है तो कपास से बने कपड़े की कीमत और कपास की कीमत में कोई तुलना नहीं है। आज तक सरकार को साहस नहीं है कि वह किसानों की इस मांग के लिये रिसर्च करवाये। कुछ रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट बने हुए हैं कृषि विश्व-विद्यालय कानपुर में बना हुआ है लेकिन उस की कभी अनुशंसा स्वीकार नहीं की जा रही है। मरता हुआ किसान चाहे जितनी खराब स्थिति उस की हो जाय, कितना ही आर्थिक तनाव उस को हो जाय लेकिन चूंकि उसको कोई दूसरा काम नहीं है इस लिये वह खेत पर ही काम करता रहता है। मरने तक वह खेत की घास तोड़ता रहता है, गेहूं, चावल, दाल की उपज करता रहता है। उपज अच्छी होगी तो भी किसान को उस की अच्छी कीमत नहीं मिलती। कितनी ही बार इस बात को मैं इस सदन में उठा चुका हूं। जूट पैदा करने वाले बिहार में

बंगाल में और असम में हैं। बिहार का हिसाब अच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि 36 लाख केवल बिहार में जूट उत्पादक हैं और एक वर्ष के अंदर उन की क्या गति हुई है आप को मालूम है? पिछले साल एक क्विंटल जूट की कीमत 900 से 1100 रुपये तक दी गयी। इस साल क्या हाल हो रहा है। आप के जे सी आई ने 245 रुपये क्विंटल की घोषणा कर दी लेकिन परचेजिंग सेंटर नहीं खोले और दिखावे के लिये जहां पर परचेजिंग सेंटर खोले तो जूट खरीदने के लिये उन के पास पैसा नहीं रहा। दिन भर में सेंटर में 80 क्विंटल जूट खरीदा जाता है वहीं उस सेंटर पर जूट बिकने के लिये आ रहा है 12000 क्विंटल। हालत यह हो गयी कि 1100 या 900 रुपये क्विंटल तो छोड़ दीजिये, ढाई सौ रुपये क्विंटल जूट खरीदने वाला भी कोई नहीं रहा। अगर मुद्रा स्फीति हो गयी है तो जूट उत्पादन करने वाले क्या करे। कहां अपना सिर ले कर पटकें। मुद्रा स्फीति हो गयी। खेत पर अच्छी पैदावार हो गयी, धान की अच्छी पैदावार हो गयी, लेकिन परचेजिंग सेंटर नहीं है। अच्छी प्राइस घोषित कर दी लेकिन उस प्राइस पर माल खरीदने के लिये कोई तंत्र नहीं खड़ा किया। किसान रोता है, सिर धुनता है। घर में उपज को रख नहीं सकता। अगर कुछ कपड़ा उसे खरीदना है या कुछ और काम करना है तो चाहे मिट्टी के भाव में उस को चावल गेहूं, या दाल बेचना पड़े उस को वह बाजार में ले जा कर पटकना पड़ता है। अगर चावल, गेहूं, दाल की कीमतें नहीं बढ़ती हैं, खेतों में पैदा होने वाली साग-सब्जी की कीमतें नहीं बढ़ती है, पास में दिल्ली जैसा शहर नहीं, तो इससे यह मत समझिए कि मुद्रा स्फीति का प्रभाव नहीं पड़ रहा है। यह दोहरी चोट है, दोहरी मार है। एक तरफ मुद्रा स्फीति और दूसरी ओर देश की बहुत बड़ी आबादी किसानों पर मार? इसके बाद भी जीवन निर्वाह करने से आदमी वंचित हो जाता है, उसकी कमर तोड़ी जाती है, उससे घायल किया जाता है, इससे निकम्मा बजट लाकर आपने क्या साबित किया है?

कहा जाता है बजट अच्छा है, वित्त मंत्री को बधाई। हालांकि वित्त मंत्री और राज्य मंत्री को मैं केवल दोष नहीं देता। पूरी सरकार और पूरी सरकार की व्यवस्था जिम्मेदार है। इस बार तो फिर से विचार कीजिए कि देश कहां जा रहा है। यह अराजकता कहां से पैदा हो रही है? कभी आपने छानबीन करने की कोशिश की है, कभी नब्ज पकड़ने की कोशिश की है? देश के करोड़ों नौजवान, करोड़ों नागरिकों के पेट के अन्दर अगर आग लगी है और वे भूखे मरते रहे, हाथ में कोई काम नहीं, जीवन चलाने के लिए कोई रास्ता नहीं तो वह क्या करेंगे? खून गर्म है, नया खून है, मगर उसको कार्यरत रखने के लिए गुंजायश नहीं है तो अराजकता का शिकार हुए बिना वह नहीं रह सकते हैं। इसका आपने विचार किया है?

मैं इस समय शिक्षा के पक्ष में नहीं जाना चाहता। लेकिन कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है कि आज नैतिक शिक्षा की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं समझी जा रही है। इस देश के अन्दर स्वस्थ नागरिक पैदा हों, अच्छे नागरिक पैदा हों, ऐसी व्यवहारिक शिक्षा की कोई योजना नहीं है, कोई चित्र नहीं है, कोई प्रावधान नहीं है। देश के अन्दर फिर से अरविन्द खड़े हो सकें, ऐसी शिक्षा की कोई व्यवस्था दिखाई नहीं दे रही है। शिक्षा है नहीं, हाथ में काम है नहीं; पेट में आग लगी हुई है तो अराजकता नहीं तो क्या बढ़ेगी? पूरे भारत के अन्दर आग लगी हुई है। दिल्ली हो या पटना हो, चाहे देश का कोई गांव हो। बिहार के बारे में तो पहले भी कहा जा चुका है कि एक सब डिवीजन नहीं है जिसके अन्दर शान्ति हो। समाचारपत्रों में समाचार निकलते हैं कि यह क्या हो रहा है? अपने आप पैदा हो गया है? नीतियां, मनुष्य निर्मित नीतियां, शासन द्वारा बनाई हुई नीतियां इन सब का परिणाम हैं। हम आलोचना करते रहें या समर्थन करते रहे लेकिन इन बातों के ऊपर विचार नहीं किया गया तो देश की गाड़ी आगे बढ़ने वाली नहीं है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आर्थिक नियमन ऐसा कीजिए जिससे देश की तरक्की हो सके। कोई आर्थिक आयाम ऐसा करिये, कोई

[श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र]

आर्थिक नियमन ऐसा कीजिए कि जिनको प्रोत्साहन मिलना चाहिए उनको प्रोत्साहन दिया जाए । छूट ऐसी चीज पर दें जिससे गरीबों को लाभ मिले। हैंडलूम वीवर्स हैं, रुई के धागे से जिनका संबध बना हुआ है, उनकी दी जाने वाली छूट समाप्त मत करिए । वह सामान जो किसान के खेत में पड़ता है, खेती के लिए दी जाने वाली सबसिडी को कम मत कीजिए । पांच सितारा होटलों में, ऐक्साइज या कस्टम की छूट देने से कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है । देश के कितने प्रतिशत लोग पांच सितारा होटलों में निवास करते हैं । ज्यादा विदेश की चिन्ता मत कीजिए । यहां 70 करोड़ लोगों का बाजार है, इनकी क्रय शक्ति बढ़े, इनकी तरक्की कीजिए तो देश आगे बढ़ेगा ।

महोदय, मैं फिर एक बार आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि आप पिछड़े हुए राज्यों के बारे में विचार कीजिए । उसको उठाने की व्यवस्था कीजिए । कोई जांच आप करते नहीं, कोई कमेटी आप बनाते नहीं । यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि (**समय की घन्टी**) आज इसकी आवश्यकता है वह आपकी समझ में नहीं आती । क्योंकि आप बार-बार घंटी बजा रहे है, बोलने की इच्छा होते हुए भी मैं उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय को धन्यवाद देते हुए यहीं समाप्त कर रहा हूं ।

श्री अच्छे लाल बाल्मीक (उत्तर प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं वित्त मंत्री श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह जी द्वारा प्रस्तुत बजट का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं । देश के गरीबों को ध्यान में रख कर बजट को पेश किया गया है इसके लिए मैं अपने प्रिय वित्त मंत्री जी को बधाई देना चाहता हूं । माननीय विद्वान सदस्यों ने बजट के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर विस्तार से प्रकाश डाला है और सभी प्रकार के पहलुओं पर विस्तार से विचार व्यक्त किये हैं । मैं उनको पुन: दोहराना नहीं चाहता । जैसा कि आपको मालूम है कि इस बजट को आम जनता ने राहत प्रदान करने वाला बजट के रूप में स्वीकार किया है । देश के विकास एवं तरक्की के लिए थोड़ा सा कष्ट भी उठाना पड़े तो उसे साहस के साथ उठाया जाना चाहिए ।

सबसे महत्वपूर्ण तथ्य यह है कि इस बजट में सबसे बिछड़े एवं पददलित निर्धन वर्ग, सफाई कर्मचारियों, मजदूरों के कल्याणार्थ बीमा योजना के प्रावधान लागू किये जाने हैं जिससे लाखों सफाई कर्मचारी, मजदूरों को राहत मिलेगी । इसके अतिरिक्त इन्दिरा गांधी आवास योजना के अन्तर्गत बहुत बड़ी संख्या में सफाई मजदूरों को आवासीय सुविधा प्राप्त होगी । गरीबों के हितों को ध्यान में रखते हुए कुलियों, रिक्शा चालकों के लिए भी बजट में प्रावधान कर लाभ पहुंचाया गया है जिससे सफाई मजदूरों में एक बड़ी खुशी की लहर पैदा हुई है । वहीं काला धन कमाने वाले लोगों को बड़ी घबराहट पैदा हो गई है क्योंकि हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने छापे मार-मार कर उनको परेशान कर रखा है । अब वह काला धन कमाना भूल जायेंगे, काला धन कमाना छोड़ देंगे, ऐसा मेरे देश के लोगों का विचार है । हमारे प्रिय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने बड़ी जटिल समस्या जो पंजाब की थी, उसको बड़ी होशियारी से हल किया है, असम की समस्या थी उसको बड़ी बुद्धिमानी के साथ हल किया है और देश के सामने जो भी ऐसी बड़ी-बड़ी समस्याएं हैं उनको हल करने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं ऐसा विश्वास देश की जनता को है । समस्याओं को बड़े साहस के साथ सुलझाया है । भारत के सफाई मजदूरों की बहुत बड़ी समस्याएं हैं इनको मैं आपके द्वारा सरकार के सामने इस सदन के द्वारा रख रहा हूं ।

सफाई मजदूरों की कार्य दशाएं, वर्क लोड, सरकार द्वारा बनाया गया है, पब्लिक हैल्थ मैनुअल में दिया गया है जिसका पालन अधिकारी लोगों के द्वारा नहीं किया जा रहा है । पब्लिक हैल्थ मैनुअल के अनुसार प्रतिदिन एक सफाई मजदूर को कार्य करना निर्धारित है । परन्तु पब्लिक हैल्थ मैनुअल का उल्लघंन किया जा रहा है । सीवर व गिलिपिड में

काम करने वाले सफाई कर्मचारियों को सीवर के अन्दर घुस कर व गिलिपिड के अंदर जा कर सफाई का कार्य करना पड़ता है । गिलिपिड सीवर के अन्दर जहरीली गैस पैदा होती है जिससे सफाई मजदूरों की मृत्यु हो जाती है । मृत्यु हो जाने पर उनके परिवार के सदस्यों को किसी प्रकार का कम्पेनसेशन नहीं दिया जाता है ।

मैं माननीय प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी को, वित्त मंत्री जी को बधाई देता हूं कि उन्होंने सफाई कर्मचारियों को बीमा योजना लागू करके लाभ पहुंचाया है । इससे सफाई मजदूरों के परिवार को काफी राहत प्राप्त होगी । मुझे ऐसी सूचनाएं प्राप्त हुई हैं कि सरकारी विभागों में सफाई मजदूरों के पद पर उच्च जाति के लोगों की नियुक्तियां कर दी जाती हैं । उनसे शौचालय तथा सफाई का कार्य नहीं लिया जाता है । ऐसी नियुक्तियां जिन विभागों में कर ली जाती हैं उन नियुक्ति करने वाले अधिकारियों के विरुद्ध कार्यवाही की जानी चाहिए । सफाई मजदूरों के कल्याणार्थ मैं निम्नलिखित सुझाव सरकार के समक्ष रख रहा हूं :

भारत के सफाई मजदूरों की सेवाओं को भारत सरकार के स्वास्थ्य विभाग के अधीन कर दिया जाए । जो वेतनमान, महंगाई भत्ते भारत सरकार के कर्मचारियों को दिये जा रहे हैं वे ही सफाई कर्मचारियों के लिए भी निर्धारित कर दिये जाने चाहिए । कूड़ा-खाना साफ करने के कारण या इस प्रकार की गन्दा काम करने के लिए सौ रुपये वेतन के अतिरिक्त कूड़ा-खाना साफ करने का भत्ता दिया जाना चाहिए । मैं यह बात भी सरकार के ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूं कि हमारे सफाई कर्मचारियों की नियुक्ति में आज एक प्रथा चल रही है कि उनको वेतनमान न देकर, नये पद सृजन न करके-उनको 10 रु० या 11 रु० दैनिक वेतन पर रख दिया जाता है : इस प्रकार से उनको तमाम अवकाश, प्रोविडेन्ट फण्ड, ग्रेचुइटी आदि से महरूम रखा जाता है । हमारी भारत सरकार की यह पालिसी है, नीति है कि गरीबों का विकास किया जाये, वे ऊपर उठें, वे गरीबी की रेखा से ऊपर उठें । मैं यह भी सुझाव देना चाहता हूं कि कूड़ा व पखाना बेचकर जो आय होती है उसका सारा धन सफाई मजदूरों के कल्याण के कामों में व्यय किया जाना चाहिए । महिला सफाई कर्मचारी जो अपने बच्चों को काम करते वक्त साथ में ले जाती है उनके लिये शिशु कल्याण केन्द्र स्थापित किये जायें । इसके अतिरिक्त सफाई मजदूरों की विभिन्न समस्याओं के लिए, उनकी विभिन्न प्रकार की आर्थिक और शिक्षा के क्षेत्र की समस्याओं के लिए, नौकरी की समस्याओं के लिए, सरकारी क्षेत्र में हरिजनों के कल्याण के लिए जो अनुदान दिया जाता है, इन सब बातों की विस्तृत जांच करने के लिए आयोग का गठन सरकार को करना चाहिए जो भारत के सफाई मजदूरों की इन समस्याओं को देखे और सरकार के सामने रिपोर्ट दे । उस रिपोर्ट के आधार पर जो कमियां हैं, उन पर जो ज्यादतियां होती हैं, जो अत्याचार होते है, सफाई कर्मचारियों के साथ जो गलत व्यवहार होता है उसको समाप्त करने के लिए प्रयास किया जाये । मैं इन शब्दों के साथ हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया है उसका समर्थन करता हूं ।

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA (West Bengal) : Sir, the Government had fallen into a fiscal trap of its own. The fiscal trap was a blind adoration of economic policies of the United States and the United Kingdom as keys to prosperity. High technology, open competition, market forces, profit incentives and the like were becoming our catchwords. I am happy to note that the Government is now trying to extricate itself from this fiscal trap.

The present Budget shows a greater measure of appreciation of the Indian economy and mor e

[Shri Shankar Prasad Mitra]

practical wisdom which Mahatma Gandhi had acquired through direct experience of Indian poverty long ago. From this point of view it is my considered opinion that this is a Budget for the poor. It should be placed on record that the anti-poverty, rural development and pro-employment proposals are, indeed, praiseworthy. But the problem of financing additional expenditure by non-inflationary means remains.

The tax proposals are modest, but if the pre-Budget increases in administered prices had been shown as receipts from budget proposals, the gap would have been much larger. The budget shows every one has won. But consumers will have to pay more than is immediately apparent. They will pay more for rice, wheat, bread and other food articles, for coal, kerosene and for commodities they require for the manufacture or transport of which coal and petroleum products are important components. I am happy that the Honourable Railway Minister is present in the House. I congratulate him for not increasing freight charges or parcel carrying charges in the railway budget which would have increased the burden of the common man still further. I do not know whether persons in authority have realised the extent of unpopularity they have courted throughout the country on account of these increases. The bandhs have been criticised. But these bandhs, to my mind, genuinely represent the country-wide reaction to these increases. I know the argument is that in order to make the country self-reliant, to ensure its economic prosperity, to make it economically strong, people would have to make sacrifices. Our people do not lack patriotism. In times of foreign aggression, leave aside activities of disruptionists, this patriotism was evident in every corner of India. I cannot forget the experiences of collecting gold ornaments from the middle class and the lower middle class people which were handed over to the then Chief Minister of West Bengal for purchase of arms to fight the Chinese aggressor. So patriotism would not be lacking. Patriotism would be forthcoming whenever needed to make the country strong. But people can make sacrificies if they know that their rulers are prepared to impose the strictest austerity in their mode, manner and style of functioning. The inflationary potential of uncovered deficit depends entirely on greater fiscal discipline in non-plan and non-developmental expenditure. In the last session of Parliament at about 7 or 7.30 in the evening in this House a Bill was introduced for increase of salaries of the President, the the Vice-President and Members of Parliament. And further Bills are likely to come to increase the salaries and emoluments of other dignitries. With the increased prices staring in the face, people do not look upon these measures with alacrity. The common man would like to know what the Government proposes to do on certain fundamental issues like strict control and supervision of non-plan expenditure as for example limiting expenditure on missions and tours abroad of MPs, dignitaries and others. Secondly, what would the Government do in seeing that the Plan projects in both the private and public sectors are carried out strictly within the time-limit, to avoid escalation of expenditure? Thirdly, would the Government stick to the principle of imposing or levying export duties on items which are used only by the higher income groups? And fourthly and lastly, what does the Government propose to do to control inefficiency, nepotism, wastage and corruption in the public sector industries? I do hope the hon. Finance Minister in his reply would throw some light on these specific points which I thought I should raise as demands of the common man of the country today. Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): The last speaker for today—Shri Hayat Ulla Ansari.

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी (नाम-निर्देशित) : वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, मैं पहले दो छोटी छोटी बातें बताऊंगा बजट के बारे में। उसके बाद मैं एजूकेशन के सिस्टम पर कुछ कहुंगा: मुझे पुराना वाक्या याद पड़ता है जब दूसरी आलमी लड़ाई हो रही थी उस मौके पर एक सिगरेट वाले से बातचीत हुई थी, उसके यहां गये दियासलाई मांगने के लिए वह कहता था नहीं है, पूछा क्यों चुपके से कहा कि ये जो साहब आ गये हैं सरकारी आदमी, उसका मतलब था फौजी, उनके पास पैसे भी इंतिहा हैं और जत्थे केजत्थे आते हैं। दियासलाई खरीद ले जाते है तो कहां से सप्लाई करें इसलिए हम दाम भी बढ़ाते हैं और नहीं देते हैं: कहने लगे साहब जब ऐसा होगा कि पैसा बढ़ेगा, माल कम होगा तो कमी नहीं होगी तो क्या होगा। इतना अच्छा उसका रिमार्क था इन्फलेशन के बारे में मैंने उस वक्त यह सीखा वैसे अभी 4--5 रोज की बात है कि एक स्कूटर पर जा रहे थे हम दो आदमी स्कूटर वाले से पूछा बजट कैसा है उसके यहां रेडियो लगा हुआ था, उसने कहा बजट क्या है साहब, जब आप कह रहे हैं गरीब को पैसा देंगे, गरीबों के लिए मकान बनाएंगे तो पैसा कहां से आयेगा। पैसे वालों से पैसा आयेगा। एक छोटा सा रिमार्क था। अभी मेरे दोस्त कुछ कह रहे थे कि पब्लिक यों सोचती है पब्लिक ऐसे सोचती है, आज पेपर में आया है, लेकिन हमारा पेपर बड़ा भोला भाला है: जनरल इलेक्शन होता है तो हमेशा उनकी रीडिंग गलत निकलती है वैसे ही बजट के बारे में पेपर की रीडिंग गलत है। नीचे जाकर पूछिए मालूम होगा कि गरीबों के लिए मकान बन रहे हैं, हां बन रहे हैं पैसा कहां से आयेगा, बड़े लोगों से आयेगा जिनके पास पैसा है उनके पास से आयेगा वरना कहां से आयेगा ? यह आम ख्याल है। मैं भी पेपर वाला हूं। 40 साल से मेरा पेपर से साबका रहा है। मैं देखता हूं कि हमारे पेपर वाले नीचे जरा कम जाते हैं उनका जो मास है वह ऊपर वाला होता है, नीचे कम जाते हैं वरना देख लेते हैं कि मासेज का क्या रिएक्शन है। वे जान रहे हैं कि उनके लिए किया जा रहा है, जो कुछ किया जा रहा है। दूसरी बात बजट के सिलसिले में एजूकेशन के लिए है। एजुकेशन के लिए जो पालिसी बनायी गयी है वह रिवाल्यूशनरी है। इसके लिए पैसा बढ़ा दिया गया है यह खुशी की बात है जब से मैं हाउस में आया हूं मैं कह रहा हूं कि एजुकेशन के लिए कोई आपको रिवोल्यूशनरी काम करना है उसके बगैर आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते हैं अब मैं एक छोटी सी मिसाल दूंगा। हम लोग देहली के 10 प्राइमरी स्कूलों में एक्सपेरीमैंट कर रहे है। के०जी० क्लास में हिंदी शुरू कराई है मैं चाहूंगा कि इस पर चेयरमैन साहब गौर करें, के०जी० क्लास में हमने हिंदी शुरू कराई है 15 जुलाई को और आज वे पढ़ रहे हैं थर्ड रीडर में। आप विश्वास नहीं कर सकते है। यह वह क्लास है जिसमें प्लस 4 के बच्चे आते हैं। मैं दिखा सकता हूं हर एक को चेयरमैन साहब आपको भी और मिनिस्टर साहब को भी यह खुशी की बात है और एक ऐसी बात है जो शायद दुनिया में कम हुई हो: हमारे एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर नरसिंह राव साहब 30 दिसम्बर को गये थे और हमारे क्लास को उन्होंने देखा और बहुत अच्छा कहा। तो यह एक्सपेरीमेंट हो रहा है लेकिन जब तक कोई देखे नहीं, एजुकेशन डिपार्टमेंट वाले देखे नहीं तो-क्या होगा। हम कैसे दिखायें ? यह अंडर इस्टीमेट है लेकिन मैं कहता हूं कि पूरा है। इस वक्त हम 10 स्कूलों में पढ़ा रहे हैं, प्राइमरी के, और सौ देंगे तो सौ पढ़ाकर दिखा देंगे। तो इतनी बड़ी चीज हम आपको दे रहे हैं कि के०जी० क्लास को इस तरह से हिंदी पढ़ा देंगे कि थर्ड रीडर-पढ़कर पहली क्लास में जायेगा: यह देखने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। दूसरी चीज देखें एडल्ट एजुकेशन की। एडल्ट एजुकेशन में हमारी एक संस्था काम कर रही है। उसको करीब करीब 40 साल हो रहे है जो उसने रिजल्ट दिखाया वह हमने दिखाया एडल्ट एजुकेशन में। अफसोस कि हमारे वी०पी० सिंह साहब चले गये जब चीफ मिनिस्टर थे यू०पी० में तब मैंने दिखाया था कि देखिए यह हमारे पास है, हम काम करना चाहते है एडल्ट एजुकेशन

[श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी]

में और कहें तो हम दिखा देंगे लेकिन वे चले आये, बात रह गयी: एक हमारी-गलती थी वह हम चाहते है चेयरमैन साहब आप नोट कर लें। हमारे एक वक्त तीन कैम्पेन चल रहे थे। कैम्पेन्स में हमको पढ़ाना था। जितना पढ़ाने का टारगैट था उससे कुछ ऊपर चले गये। हमने यह प्रूफ दे दिया। उसके बाद से आपका एजुकेशन डिपार्टमेंट हमसे बेहद खफा हो गया, बेहद खिलाफ हो गया कि हम अब टारगेट काम करते है और बाजार के भाव बिगाड़ रहे है। तब से हमारी मुखालिफत चल रही है यू०पी० में। खुशी की बात है कि पन्त जी ने, नरसिंह राव जी ने 30 क्लासेज दिये हैं, वह भी एडल्ट एजूकेशन में हम पढ़ाकर दिखा रहे हैं। दो महीने हो गये हैं हम चाहते हैं कि कोई जिम्मेदार साहब आयें क्लासेज में और देखें कितना पढ़ा रहे हैं। हमारे यहां ड्राप आऊट की प्राब्लम ही नहीं है, हमारे यहां ओवर फ्लो है। हमारे यहां यह है कि ज्यादा बच्चे आ जाते हैं। 30 के बजाये 40 बच्चे आ जाते हैं, बहुत ज्यादा लोग आ गये हैं, बच्चे आ गये हैं। ड्राप आउट की प्राब्लम है ही नहीं। लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि एजूकेशन डिपार्टमेंट वाले आयें और देखें। यह जैसे चल रहा है इससे बड़ी कामयाबी और क्या हो सकती है। और ज्यादा बातें बता दूं, पूरी चीजें हिमायत करने वाली हैं। 12 महीने रखे गये हैं एडल्ट एजूकेशन के लिये, जरूरत से ज्यादा हैं। 10 महीने में आसानी से हो सकता है लेकिन मैं दो तीन और बातों की तरफ भी तवज्जह दिलाऊंगा। कई दफा बता चुका हूं फिर बता देता हूं कि एडल्ट एजूकेशन में गरीबों के मोहल्ले में आप पढ़ाएंगे, स्लम्स में, लेकिन वहां घर नहीं मिलते हैं इतने बड़े। उन गरीबों के ऐसे घर होते हैं कि किसी में 10 आदमी नहीं बैठ सकते हैं मुश्किल से कहां, पढ़ायेंगे ? जगह नहीं है। स्कीमें बनी हैं लेकिन इस पर सोचा नहीं गया कि पढ़ेंगे कहां ? आपको कोशिश करके इनको बनाना है, प्राइमरी स्कूल या कोई बिल्डिंग बनानी होगी अगर स्लम्स में इन गरीबों को पढ़ाना है। हरिजन बस्तियों में जगह ही नहीं होती इतनी। मैदान तक नहीं मिलते जहां बैठ कर हम 30 लोगों को पढ़ा सकें। पहले के तीन महीने बहुत बड़े निकल जाते हैं जाड़ों में। जाड़ों में स्टूडेंट्स एडल्ट्स आते हैं काम करके, वे बहुत सर्दी खाते हुये आते है, ठिठुरते होते है और चूल्हे के पास बैठ जाते हैं उसके बाद रजाई में घुस जाते है, पढ़ नहीं पाते हैं। बरसात में पानी बरसता है तो भीगते हुये आते है लेकिन बैठ नहीं सकते है, क्लास में चले आते हैं। तो इसका कोई प्राविजन हमारे यहां सोचा नहीं गया है। यह जो चीज है इस पर आपको सोचने की जरूरत है लेकिन अफसोस यह है कि हमारे एजूकेशन में एक ही ढर्रे से काम चल रहा है। जैसे हमारे रेलवे मिनिस्टर साहब बैठे हुये हैं, रेल चलती है, रेलवे टाइम टेबुल छप गया, कोयला डाल दिया गया, पानी दे दिया गया, चला दिया लेकिन ऐसे एजूकेशन नहीं चल सकती है उसमें तो रोजाना इमेजिनेशन से काम करना पड़ता है रोजाना नये ढंग से सोचना पड़ता है।

श्री गुलाम रसूल मट्टू (जम्मू और काश्मीर) : वोकेशनल एजूकेशन के मुताल्लिक भी बोलें।

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी : मेरा बस यहीं तक है एडल्ट एजूकेशन और प्राइमरी एजूकेशन तक रखता हूं आगे मेरा काम नहीं है। लेकिन इन दोनों में मैं कहता हूं कि रिसर्च वर्क कीजिए अगर दो साल बच सकते हैं बच्चे के तो क्यों नहीं बचाये जायें। इतनी बड़ी ड्राप आउट की प्राब्लम है। मैं रिपोर्ट को पढ़ता रहता हूं। एक रिपोर्ट के हिसाब से लखनऊ भर पढ़ गया है। एडल्ट एजूकेशन के पूरे क्लासेज भर गये सब इतने देहातों में, लेकिन कहीं कहीं ही देहात वाले पढ़े लिखे मिलेंगे। तो इस चीज को देखने की जरूरत है और नहीं देखेंगे तो एजूकेशन कैसे दुरुस्त होगा। इतनी बड़ी अपनी स्कीम बना रहे हैं, आगे जाने की तरक्की करने की रिवाल्यूशन करने की लेकिन वह कैसे कर सकते हैं। दूसरे मुल्कों में याद है कि किस तरह से एक्सपेरीमेंट किये गये हैं आगे बढ़ने के लिये, जैसे हवाई जहाज बना है, राइट ब्रदर्स ने बनाया, सिर्फ इतना हुआ कि सौ गज उड़ गया, ऊपर उठ गया था, पूरी स्कीम बनायी गयी उसके बाद

तमाम रिसर्च वर्क होने लगा। लेकिन यहां दिखाते जाइये जो कुछ दिखाना है लेकिन हमारा एजूकेशन डिपार्टमेंट हिलता नहीं है। वैसे तो मैं बात कर रहा हूं कि आज आठ साल से दिखा रहे हैं लेकिन वहीं का वहीं है। बड़ी मुश्किल से हिलाओ, करो लेकिन वे देखते ही नहीं है। तो यह चीज है एजूकेशन में। मौलाना आजाद से जब कहा गया कि आप कौन सा डिपार्टमेंट लेंगे तो उन्होंने कहा भाई एजूकेशन के बगैर तो कोई काम नहीं हो सकता है इसलिये मैं एजूकेशन ही लूंगा। यह वाक्या है कि हम एजूकेशन देते है, जबानी देते हैं, गुह से जाता है, कान में जाता है लेकिन जहां-जहां एजूकेशन नहीं देते हैं उस पर मैं तवज्जह दिलाना चाहता हूं। एजूकेशन पर हमें जोर देना है लेकिन रिवाल्यूशन को अंदाज पर, हमको रिवाल्यूशन लानी है वरना हिन्दुस्तान आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता है और आगे काम नहीं हो सकता है। यह चीज मैं आपको बता दूं कि हम बाज चीजों में आगे है। मसलन जो एजूकेशन की स्कीम हम पेश कर रहे हैं वह बाहर के मुल्कों में भी नहीं मिलेगी। मैं अमेरिका में देख चुका हूं, इंग्लैंड मे देख चुका हूं, फ्रांस वगैरह में देख चुका हूं, एशिया में मौजूद है लेकिन उनके यहां यह स्कीम नहीं है। उनके यहां एक चीज है मैं अर्ज कर लूं फिर खत्म कर दूंगा। असली चीज, बुनियाद हमारी एजूकेशन की क्या है? रटो, रटो, रोटिंग रोटिंग और कुछ नहीं है। सबसे अर्ली एज होती है उसमें आप रटाते हैं। सबसे बदतरीन चीज है रटाना। रटने में क्या होता है, मैं एक दफा कह चुका हूं आज फिर कह दूं।

रटने का मतलब है कि कनसेंट्रेट करो इस बात पर और उसको दोहराओ। बाई विल कनसेंट्रेट करो। क्या छोटे बच्चे बाई विल कनसेंट्रेट कर सकते हैं? क्या जाहिल एडल्ट कनसेंट्रेट कर सकता है? माइण्ड वांडरिंग रहता है। जब दस मिनट एक आदमी रटता है, तो समझिये कि आठ मिनट माइण्ड वांडरिंग करता है।

तो पहले हमारी एजूकेशन माइण्ड वांडरिंग की होती है। यह पहला सबक सीखते हैं। माइण्ड वांडरिंग को रोकने के लिये आप क्या करते हैं? आप कहते हैं कि थप्पड़ मारेंगे, बच्चे को, यानी फियर कम्पलक्स पैदा करते हैं। दूसरी चीज जो आप पेश करते हैं, वह होती है, मिठाई देना, यानी ग्रीड कम्पलैक्स। यह है, एजूकेशन हमारे प्लानर्स की—पहले माइण्ड वांडरिंग सिखाते हैं, फिर ग्रीड कम्पलक्स देते हैं, फिर फियर कम्पलक्स देते हैं, और बहुत से लोग हमारे कहते हैं कि मारल-एजूकेशन दो। हमारी मारल एजूकेशन तो वही होती है, यही चीज देते हैं कि दस महीने पढ़ाते हैं, तो उसमें आठ महीने माइण्ड वांडरिंग सिखाते हैं, आठ महीने हम ग्रीड कम्पलक्स सिखाते हैं, आठ महीने हम उसको फियर कम्पलैक्स सिखाते हैं। यही हमारी एजूकेशन का तरीका है। लेकिन बहुत सी बड़ी चीजें जो मौजूद हैं, जो साइकालोजी ने हमको दी हैं, उससे हम नहीं सीखते हैं

एक चीज मैं आखिर में कह दूं, कि अर्ली मैन सीखता कैसे है? (घंटी) मैं एक दो मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूं। अर्ली मैन सीखता कैसे है? एक बच्चे को कुक रेल दे दीजिये। वह दो रोज तो बेहद खेलेगा उससे, अपने बिस्तर में रख कर सोयेगा, दिन भर उसे अपने पास रखेगा और उसके बाद जब जी भर जायेगा, तो वह तोड़ कर देखेगा कि रेल चलती कैसे है, यानि अब इनक्विजिटिवनैस उसकी काम करेगी कि यह चलती कैसे है। वह यह देखना चाहेगा। मां-बाप उसे डाटेंगे कि रेल तोड़ दी, खराब कर दी, पर वह उसका इनक्विजिटिवनैस है। जब उसकी इनक्विजिटिवनैस बढ़ जाती है, तो वह तोड़ कर देखता है बूझना चाहता है कि यह कैसे चलती है तमाम एजूकेशन का मतलब है इनक्विजिटिवनैस, बूझने से एजूकेशन बढ़ती है सारा इंसान यही सीखते है और उसी पर डालिये कि हमारा इल्म कैसे बढ़े। इनक्विजिटिवनैस नं. एक और उसके बाद बूझना है, मुझे भी एजूकेशन आती है।

(श्री हमातुल्ला अन्सारी)

तो यह अफसोस है कि इन चीजों की साइकालोजी हमने देखी नहीं है। गलती हमारी नहीं है, बल्कि एजूकेशनिस्टिस की गलती है दुनिया में कहीं नहीं देखा गया, लेकिन हमारे ख्याल में देखा जाए तो देखा जा सकता है? हम आपकी खिदमत में पेश कर सकते है जब हमारे बच्चे पढ़ जाते है, के०जी० में पढ़ जाते है हिंदी पढ़ते हैं, अब सब पढ़ने लगे है।

15 जुलाई को शुरू किया था आज समझ लीजिए–मैं अब आगे कह रहा हू कि उन्होंने शुरू मार्च में हिंदी पढ़ना–लिखना दोनों सीख लिया इमला लिखने लगे, लिख लेंगे करेक्ट और उसमें मात्रा में भी गलती नहीं होगी यह सीखा इसलिए कि नये तरीके इस्तेमाल किये गये।

तो मैं आपसे अर्ज करना चाहता हू कि इसको आप भी देखें और उसके बाद बाद हमारे और दोस्त भी देखें और गवर्नमेंट के जितने भी एजूकेशन मिनिस्ट्री के अफसर है, वह भी देखें। मैं इसे दिखाने के लिए तैयार हू।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): The House now stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at forty-eight minutes past five of the clock, till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 13th March, 1986.